

The Nation.

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The Week.

YESTERDAY week the Senate took up the nomination of Mr. Waite to be Chief-Justice. Mr. Sumner, who was next friend to Mr. Cushing in his canvass for the place, is reported as having made a set speech, urging upon the Senate certain general considerations as to the greatness and dignity of the office. The vote was then taken and was unanimous (63) for confirmation. Nine Senators were absent or not voting, most of them being absentees. It is strange to find at this time of day that, apart from the question as to the fitness for the Chief-Justiceship of a good man and a good lawyer not yet known to be a great lawyer, the only specific objection made to Mr. Waite was that he once did God and the state some service by making an independent campaign against the notorious Ashley in the Toledo district of Ohio. This was seriously brought forward as an accusation against him, and five years ago might have settled the case adversely to the candidate. It now, however, fell dead. On Thursday, a much-needed resolution was passed, declaring it unlawful for Senators to print in the *Congressional Record* speeches never delivered. Not infrequently the orations so printed were prepared for Senators and Representatives by gentlemen not members of either House, and were upon subjects of which the dumb orator was entirely ignorant. On this same day, the long financial debate which Mr. Merrimon, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Gordon, and Mr. Edmunds had previously been engaged in was renewed, the Thursday speakers being Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Schurz. On Friday, there was a discussion in which the public would be more interested than it is were there much fear that the views of Mr. Sargent, of California, would be carried into effect. Mr. Sargent has something of a hobby in his wish to stop the mails from doing what he terms "an express business"—i.e., carrying books, seeds, cuttings, bulbs, and similar articles, apparently known to Mr. Sargent under some such generic denomination as "alligators and bee-hives." The prospect at present seems to be dark for him. On Monday, Mr. Thurman introduced and tried to have printed a petition from prominent citizens of Washington who pray for relief and for protection against the rings of the District. Under objection from Mr. Conkling and Mr. Sherman, leave to print was refused, and there appears to be a determination to uphold and defend this most gravely accused band of men. On the same day, Senator McCreery wanted Pinchback's credentials taken up, and made a sharp speech, but Senator Morton succeeded in having them given back to his Committee, and Pinchback, it is now understood, will be adversely reported on, Mr. Morton having new light since he last reported.

In the House, the week began with a day of oratory of the old-fashioned Banks-Logan order, all in reference to the Philadelphia Centennial. It is understood that the authorities of our State Department wish to be extremely cautious how they pledge the Government to any responsibility, pecuniary or otherwise, for an affair as to which there are many melancholy forebodings of all sorts. The bill introduced sets forth that in the case of other exhibitions of this kind the United States has been invited to take part, and that, therefore, the President be now requested to give a like invitation to foreign nations, to be represented "under the auspices of our Government" in the exhibition at Philadelphia. This was understood as committing the Government to the promotion of the scheme. The speeches lasted a long time, and finally the bill passed by a large majority. Three days of the week have been mainly taken up with the singular coil of the West Virginia elections—one of those tangles out of which to take any way would

seem more important than to choose any one particular way out. On Tuesday last the matter was finally disposed of by seating the members elected in August. This cuts legal knots, but hardly represents the popular wish of the moment. The special order for yesterday was Mr. Dawes's proposed enactment practically legalizing the issue of the \$44,000,000, by declaring that the maximum limit of the currency shall be \$400,000,000, instead of \$356,000,000. Much routine business has gone on in each house, and apparently the time has been profitably spent, were it only for the educational effect of the financial debate on some new members, some old ones, and the country at large. The inflationists are much less peremptory than a little while ago they were.

Mr. Waite's confirmation seems to give general satisfaction to the country. A correspondent of the *Evening Post* finds fault with us for speaking of him as "a second-rate lawyer," because not well known in this part of the world, and the *Post* itself has had an article showing the injustice of judging of the standing of Western lawyers by the amount of fame they may happen to have on this side of the Alleghanies. The term "second-rate" probably contains more depreciation than we meant to express, and if we had said "second-class" we should have been more accurate. But at the same time we do not concur either with the *Post* or its correspondent in thinking that want of fame on the Atlantic coast is not, to a certain extent, an objection to a candidate for the Chief-Justiceship. As long as actual experience contributes as much to a lawyer's training as it does now, and must do always, the most competent lawyers for judicial functions which will compel them to deal largely, if not mainly, with nice questions of commercial, admiralty, and international law, will be found in the great seaports and centres of finance and industry; other things, of course, being equal. One therefore says nothing offensive of a lawyer, however high his character or great his book-learning, who has passed his professional life in a smaller inland city, in saying that he is probably less fitted to preside over the Supreme Court than one who has long practised in a great emporium of foreign commerce like New York or Boston. It is like saying that the best doctors are found near the great hospitals, and not in country villages; and yet there may be and are excellent doctors in country villages.

There have been two important financial speeches in the Senate during the last fortnight, by Mr. Schurz and Mr. Sherman, both of them strongly anti-inflationist. Mr. Schurz propounded and supported a series of propositions which contain the sum and substance of all sound finance, viz., that the depreciation of the currency is proved by the discount on it; that a crisis caused by over-speculation cannot be cured by a permanent addition to the paper currency; that a redundant and irredeemable paper currency must stimulate demoralizing speculation; that to increase its volume after a panic is to prepare the way for another panic; that such addition cannot add to the real wealth of the country or give a healthy stimulus to industry, because it is absorbed by the rise in prices, and thus only feeds speculation; that nobody is more injured by such a currency than the farmer, because while he has to buy his commodities in the home market, at paper prices, he has to sell for specie in foreign markets, where competition is free; that redundant paper currency impedes exportation of everything but gold, and stimulates importation, thus keeping "the balance of trade" constantly against us, and putting the sages like Mr. Boutwell, who are waiting for a favorable balance in order to resume, in the position of the rustic who waited for the stream to run by; that the idea that we can resume specie payments by waiting till the country "grows up" to the currency is a mischievous delusion; that this return must

be the result of legislative action, and that the present moment is the proper time for such action.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Schurz administered some well-deserved castigation to the head of the Groton school of economists. That gentleman maintains that, although Congress has solemnly pledged the United States to return to specie payments at the earliest practicable moment, nevertheless, as there is no particular time mentioned on the face of the greenbacks for their payment, it is sound policy to sit still and take no steps for their redemption, but leave the matter to time and good fortune and the growth of the country, in the meantime avoiding both inflation and contraction. Mr. Schurz showed clearly that this was both dishonorable and inexpedient. But one interesting point he did not notice, and perhaps it would not have been parliamentary for him to notice—namely, that Mr. Boutwell's position on this point is an excellent illustration of the soundness of the suggestion we made in the *Nation*, in an article on "Ministers of Finance," Nov. 6, that his policy while Secretary of the Treasury was exactly what you might *a priori* expect that of the half-taught keeper of a country store would be, when placed suddenly in charge of the national finances. In the first place, his elevation would naturally fill him with conceit and self-confidence, and contempt for books and "theorists"; in the next, he would at once begin to draw on his own experience for guidance in the discharge of his new duties. He would ask himself what would he have done under similar circumstances in the management of his own business, supposing, after getting heavily into debt, he found himself suddenly put in possession of a fair yearly income, which promised to extricate him eventually from his difficulties. He would at once answer that he would go into the market and "shave" all his own notes that he could lay hold of on which interest was running against him, and on which he might be bankrupted; but that such debts as bore no interest, and for payment of which no time certain was named, he would let lie as long as he chose, and tell the holders that "he would pay when he got ready." If any one came into the store and commented on the general effect of such conduct on the public welfare, or on his own reputation, or reminded him of his solemn vows when he was receiving the money, he would laugh, and say that he guessed he understood his own business, but didn't know much about metaphysics, and that his "paper" was better now than ever it was, and that it would not hurt 'em to pass it round a little longer. General or remote considerations of expediency, or considerations of public honor or morality, such as a statesman has to keep constantly in his mind, our huckster would not listen to.

Reports of the approaching resignation of Mr. Richardson have been frequently set afloat of late by Washington correspondents, and have been regularly contradicted by himself. The *Tribune* furnishes an explanation of these mistakes, which we believe to be correct, viz., that some Republican Senators who believe him to be a heavy burden for the party to bear, try every now and then to get rid of him, and fancy they have made an impression on the President's mind, and communicate their hopefulness to the letter-writers. Mr. Richardson has, however, no thought of resigning, and the President has no thought of asking him to do so. He probably would not care very much for the presence of a more pretentious financier in the Treasury. Under a constitutional monarchy a minister of finance would not think of retaining his place after such a fiasco as "the silver resumption"; but there such a minister enjoys power which a minister under our system was not intended by the Constitution to possess, so that under it no penalty is annexed to failure, because he is not supposed to be capable of conspicuous or serious failure. As a matter of fact, however, our Secretary has, under our new financial régime, passed imperceptibly into possession of power such as no monarchical minister exercises, and he ought to be exposed to the penalty by which their

blundering is restrained. At present we have no remedy. A committee of the Senate has solemnly declared the issuing of paper money by Messrs. Boutwell and Richardson to have been an unlawful proceeding. This ought to have operated as a dismissal from office.

Mr. McCrary, of Iowa, chairman of the House Committee on Railways and Canals, has made a report on the subject of cheap transportation, which examines what is called the "constitutional question" as well as that of expediency. The Constitution gives Congress the power to "regulate commerce" "among the several States," and Mr. McCrary's argument to show that this includes the power to fix all the freight charges on long lines of railroads is, as we understand it, this: that such a provision would be a "regulation" of commerce, which it no doubt would. It would also be a regulation of commerce if the government were to compel the stoppage and opening of every package of goods passing over the border of every State, for the purpose of discovering whether the bill of lading was correctly made out, but we never heard any one maintain that Congress had this power. To "regulate commerce" is such a vague general term that it is absolutely necessary to go back to the time of its introduction to know what its design was, and if there is anything clear in the world it is that in the year 1787 no one in the world supposed it to have anything to do with freight rates charged by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy or the New York Central, but that what the framers did mean was to enable Congress to prevent the States from controlling their commercial relations with each other. It is a notorious fact also that the common law of this country makes "unreasonable" charges by common carriers unlawful now. The courts all over the United States have power to enforce this familiar law; and if the courts cannot enforce it, who can?

The past year has been remarkable for the fact that most of the "strikes" organized by the working-men in this country have proved failures, as well as most of the "demonstrations." Week before last a great demonstration was to have come off in Tompkins Square in this city, and tremendous preparations were made by the internationalists, who provided themselves with red flags to be carried by peaceful citizens, whose only association with such an emblem is probably derived in most cases from its historic connection with auction sales. Levees of a portentous character were given by the Police Commissioners, who were determined at all hazards to preserve the peace of the city, at which leading agitators appeared, maintaining throughout their interview a severe incognito, declining to reveal their no doubt well-known names, and being referred to as the "French delegate," the "English delegate," and so on. The agitators persuaded a considerable number of people to turn out, and Tompkins Square was the scene of a row which ended in some broken heads. The whole thing was a failure, however, and the leaders have been since occupying their time in trying to make the poor working people believe that they have been martyred, efforts in which they do not seem to be succeeding. Of strikes we recently had the engineers', which died out in a week, and now that among the coal-miners, which has ended in the same way, by an acceptance of the employers' terms.

One of the most curious things about these coal-strikes—for they occur at nearly regular intervals—is that a story is always started that the strike is the result of a combination between the strikers themselves and the coal companies to raise prices. The origin of this is easy to trace. In the Schuylkill region, as it is called, the men are paid not fixed wages, but sums which depend on the price of coal in the market. As the price rises the wages rise, as it falls the wages fall—but not below a certain fixed limit, which the men get in any case. They have, therefore, all the advantages of co-operation, with none of its dis-

advantages. The miners have, therefore, an interest in high prices; and at this season of the year, which is, of course, the dullest, they strike not only for an increase of their minimum, but also for an increase in price per ton. This system does not prevail in other parts of the coal regions; and, besides this advantage, the companies always have on hand immense supplies of coal at tide-water, amply sufficient to control the market for months to come. The miners in the present case, coming to the conclusion that they had not money enough to hold out a number of months, gave it up, and yielded, after a week's disturbance, to the employers' terms of \$2 25 as a minimum basis per ton.

The most striking piece of news of the week comes from England, in the shape of Mr. Gladstone's announcement that Parliament is to be dissolved and an appeal to the country taken upon the various leading points of his policy, which includes some reduction of taxation, and notably the abolition of the income-tax. The Ministry has been in a feeble condition ever since the defeat on the Irish University Bill, which Mr. Gladstone ascribes to a coalition of the Conservatives and Ultramontanes. Disraeli then declined to accept the consequences of his victory, by taking office, and Gladstone had to resume office without any opportunity of recovering from the blow. The appeal to the people is rendered all the more necessary by the fact that in nearly all the recent elections the Conservatives have come off victorious, and their victories have been more marked in the constituencies which have received the largest infusion of new blood from the latest extension of the suffrage than elsewhere. This, it must be admitted, is a very singular and unlooked-for phenomenon, and somewhat difficult of explanation. The ablest and most plausible attempt at solution has been made by the *Economist*, which ascribes what seems to be a strong Conservative reaction to the decline of interest in purely political questions among the young men of this generation, and their increasing absorption in religious and social ones; the hostility excited among the Dissenters, who are the bone and sinew of the Liberal army, by the mode in which the Government has dealt with the education question; the contentment of the *nouveaux riches* with their present political position, and their consequent dislike of the spirit of change which Gladstone fosters. The commercial men were clamorous for radical measures, as long as the honors and responsibilities of politics were monopolized by the landed aristocracy; now that they are admitted to a full share in them, they throw their weight into the Conservative scale. On the other hand, Liberalism has unshaken hold of all Scotch constituencies, and in Ireland, the Catholics, however they may coquet with the Tories, can hardly act with them permanently. On the whole, the Liberal prospects, if not positively bad, are wonderfully different from what everybody thought, at the passage of the Reform Act, they would be by this time. The questions at issue are well foreshadowed by our English correspondent on another page.

Full details of the Spanish *coup d'état* have arrived by the last mail, but throw no fresh light on the occurrence. Castelar defended himself brilliantly, but the Cortes was not satisfied with him, and passed the vote of want of confidence without difficulty. Castelar resigned, and then came the startling news that "the man on horseback" was on his way, and was prepared to take the cares of state off their hands. In other words, Pavia and Serrano had all their plans laid for this very contingency, and were determined that no Red or Reddish ministry should take Castelar's place; and Pavia was known to be an able and determined officer, who had the troops well in hand. The majority in the Cortes were stricken with consternation; Salmeron fiercely implored Castelar to take office again, and all would go well; but in vain; it was too late. The summons to disperse arrived from Pavia; Salmeron informed the deputies that the supreme moment had come, and that they

must now die in their places. Before, however, they had time to make arrangements for that purpose, the soldiers appeared at the door, and three shots were heard, and in the twinkling of an eye the hall was empty, and the deputies were tearing over the pavement towards their lodgings, leaving "the republic" to its fate; and no wonder, for the street was full of troops and artillery. There seems to be general acquiescence throughout the country in the result, and general agreement that the Cortes, which was elected in the midst of the "Federal Republican" craze, was a worthless body, with which, as Castelar himself acknowledged and found, it was impossible to carry on a regular government. Pavia, it is said, will now be sent against the Carlists, with all the available force, and will make a desperate effort to crush them. Castelar has gone into retirement, a sadder and wiser man, and Espartero approves of Serrano's programme. Spain is in the hands of the old set of military conspirators, and we presume her chances for the future depend a good deal on her finding a dictator wise and honest and able enough to restore order, put the machinery of government in repair, give industry and commerce a chance to revive, build up the public credit, and allow public opinion to grow up into a national force. What the chances are that such a man will turn up it is hard to calculate.

The new Government has addressed a circular to the governors of the provinces, through the Minister of the Interior, characterizing the *coup d'état* "as an energetic and patriotic action," and declaring that the Cortes, "in condemning the sensible policy of Señor Castelar, had decreed the dissolution of the country." "The Spanish Republic," it says, "is truly Conservative," and the new Government is to "unite the country, re-establish order, preserve the integrity of the territory, raise the national credit, improve the morality of the administration, and protect all in the enjoyment of their rights." The Government is sure that it "has not violated legality in thus making itself the interpreter of public sentiment," inasmuch as "the disintegration of the country decreed by an assembly could never be a lawful act." This method of interpreting the Constitution, we think, must be loose enough to satisfy even the upholders of the rule "They builded better than they knew." Here is a military officer, who, guessing that the legislature is up to something illegal, concludes that "the people" would not approve of its conduct, so he marches on it and disperses it. Castelar, on the other hand, says "the energetic and patriotic act" was "a brutal act of violence," and that though "his conscience will not permit him to associate with demagogues" (Pi y Margall and Co.) "his honor keeps him aloof from a state of things created by the force of bayonets."

The proposition made to the American minister last July for a cession of the Pearl River harbor in the Sandwich Islands as a naval station, in exchange for commercial reciprocity, is withdrawn by the Hawaiian ministry. Nothing had been heard from the United States on the subject, and since the measure was first talked of last winter the excitement in the Islands had been increasing with the natives, on account of the anti-annexation appeals made to them. The current was set so strongly that it would probably have been useless to negotiate, and, in addition, there would very likely have been no subject to negotiate about, in consequence of the supposed unwillingness on the part of the United States to talk about a naval station. The King's health, it is notorious, is poor. He has been visiting the island of Hawaii for some weeks, but does not grow stronger. The next legislature, in May, will act on some proposed amendments to the Constitution, the most important of which is to make the two houses of the legislative assembly sit as one house; and this was a change which the late king made as anti-republican, whereas with a king who is willing to yield to popular ideas it is really the more democratic.

WHY HAVE WE NO ORGANIZED OPPOSITION?

PROBABLY nothing in the history of our time will excite more surprise in the mind of posterity than the total absence from our politics, during the last ten eventful years, of an organized opposition. During the war, as we all know, the Democrats were fierce and vehement in their hostility to the policy of the party in power. They opposed the war in the beginning, and after it broke out they opposed all human means of carrying it on. They opposed the emancipation of the blacks, and opposed their enfranchisement, and the whole scheme of reconstruction of which this enfranchisement formed a part; but this scheme once carried out, the arms seem to have dropped from their hands. What they hope, or wish, or believe, or seek, no man has known since 1867. We read, it is true, in the *World* from week to week clear and glowing accounts of what the Democratic party holds and intends, but when we turn to the action of the party in its conventions, or in the State or National Legislatures, we find that the party the *World* is talking about is a party of the mind—a bright vision which the editors of that paper would like to see realized, but which has really nothing, or next to nothing, in common with the organization known as Democratic in the actual world.

Few people who have not taken what may be called a comparative view of the political tendencies of the last ten years, and of the political proposals now before the country, will appreciate the singularity of the situation. Let us run over a few, and only a few, of its leading features, beginning with the relation of the Government to the currency. The framers of the Constitution were deeply impressed with the abuses resulting from Government interference with the obligation of contracts, by means of adulterations of the coinage and the issue of paper money. The history of these abuses was then fresh in every intelligent man's mind. Every civilized nation had had ample experience of them. They therefore, in accordance with the wisest sentiment of their day, solemnly forbade the States "to emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts"; the reason which operated on their minds being, to use Madison's language in the *Federalist*, "that the loss which America had sustained since the peace, from the pestilential effects of paper money on the necessary confidence between man and man; on the necessary confidence in the public councils; on the industry and morals of the people, and on the character of republican government, constituted an enormous debt against the States chargeable with this unadvised measure, which must long remain unsatisfied; or rather an accumulation of guilt, which can be exorcised no otherwise than by a voluntary sacrifice on the altar of justice of the power which had been the instrument of it." Now, although Congress itself was not formally deprived of this power, the reasons which led to the States being asked to surrender it raised, down to 1860, an implication in the public mind of the most impregnable kind against the right of Congress to use it—an implication which had become deeply embedded in American polity, strengthened as it was by the experience of France during the Revolution, and that of Great Britain between 1797 and 1819. When the war broke out, and men were at their wits' end, this implication was overthrown, but confessedly under the pressure of overwhelming necessity, and paper money was issued as a war measure, and only as a war measure, and with solemn pledges that it would be redeemed in gold, and the normal relations of the Government to the currency restored at the earliest possible moment. Since 1865, the talk of returning to specie payments on the part of the Government has been growing gradually feebler. When the present Administration came into power, a Secretary of the Treasury was appointed—and he a Jeffersonian Democrat—who denied that the Government was bound to redeem any sooner than it pleased, and acted on this policy; and who finally took upon himself to issue paper money on his own responsibility without the authorization of Congress. As time has worn on, too, paper money has come to be talked of as the only good kind of money, and gold and silver coin to be denounced as twin relics of barbar-

ism; and at this moment the Republican majority in the House of Representatives is not only opposed to any return to specie payments, but is calling for fresh issues of paper, in time of profound peace, as a proper means of meeting the ordinary liabilities of the state. Now, here is a distinct departure of the most extraordinary kind from a fundamental principle of American government which the experience of many ages and nations has confirmed, and to which the American people clung firmly for seventy years, and which the Democratic party preached vociferously from its foundation. Any political philosopher, therefore, who knew nothing of our contemporary politics, would say unhesitatingly that when this singular change was taking place in the policy of the party in power a vigorous organized opposition must have sprung up—that the Democratic party must under its influence have recovered from the demoralizing effects of its defeat on the slavery question, and raised once more the standard of the early days, and fought vigorously for the poor man's gold dollar against the rich speculator's paper promise. But our political philosopher would have been grossly mistaken. He would have found that the opposition in the Republican ranks was timid and hesitating, and that in the Democratic ranks it did not exist, and that the Democrats were in fact the loudest advocates of paper inflation and the firmest opponents of redeemability.

Take again the great question of personal rights, as against arbitrary centralized police powers. No people in the world were more sensitive about them, down to 1860, than this people. The Constitution of the United States had to be amended, after its adoption, in order to guard against even the shadow of danger in this direction, and among the new articles inserted was one which reaffirmed "the right of the people to be secured in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures," and prohibited the issue of any warrant which did not "particularly describe the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." Now, the Government was in 1861–2 armed with the most expensive, elaborate, powerful, minute, and vexatious apparatus for the collection of customs-duties to be found in the world. It has an army of inspectors to watch the arrival of goods, and take charge of them at all the ports. It can strip naked any passenger or sailor on board every vessel arriving in this country from abroad, and search her or him as a precaution against smuggling; and it often exercises this power. It can detain all merchandise in its own warehouses as long as it pleases, unpack it, and have it weighed, measured, tasted, handled, or probed by skilled appraisers appointed by itself, who are allowed to take their own time for their work. Greater inquisition than this no government in the world, no matter what it may be called, dares to exercise or to ask for. But our Government has since the war, in time of peace, asked for and obtained, *without debate*, power to treat the custom-house examination as settling nothing; to treat the merchant's liability as of indefinite duration; to employ spies to dog him after the goods have been handed over to him, and to tempt him into or catch him in minute violations of an intricate law, and then to seize on a general warrant *all* his books and papers, and transfer them, not to the custody of a magistrate, but to that of a common detective, who may search them at his leisure for proofs of offences punishable by enormous penalties, of which he, the detective, is to pocket a considerable proportion. In no country in the world has the field left to private enterprise and private munificence been so large, and has the field reserved for Government initiative or regulation been so small; and this not as the result of accident or necessity simply, but as the result of a well-considered and sound view of the conditions under which human faculties are best stimulated and the social virtues best nurtured. It must be admitted, too, and it is admitted by all competent observers, that experience has fully justified the theory. The contributions of individual enterprise and activity to the general good in the United States are magnificent. The private citizen has proved equal to every exigency. Whatsoever his hand has given him to do he has done quickly and done well. But the Government has of late been falling behindhand in efficiency. Its machinery has in every part been growing clumsier and less effective, and more

costly and untrustworthy. The business of this generation in the way of reform is, as every thinking man sees, not to load it with great duties, but to increase its capacity for the duties already assigned to it. To give it more money to spend, more privileges to bestow, more contracts to make, more inspectors to appoint, is simply to swell the stream of corruption which now threatens to submerge the whole nation, and to increase the mortifying list of political embezzlers, defaulters, blackmailers, spies, extortioners, jobbers, speculators, which meets the eyes of newspaper readers every morning, and to weaken still further popular interest in questions of administration by leading them to doubt whether good administration be possible.

Now if, bearing these things in mind, we look at the manner in which it is proposed to deal with the railroad problem, we come upon a good deal which one would expect not only to excite general surprise, but to suffice of itself to call an opposition party into existence. The National Cheap Transportation Association has recently recommended, and we have no doubt a majority in both branches of Congress will either support or pretend to support the recommendation, or, at all events, will not venture openly to oppose it, that the Government should, under color of "regulating commerce between the States," undertake to fix the rates of transportation on the 67,000 miles of railroad now in existence, and the 100,000 which probably will be in existence before the close of the century; and, more than this, undertake the construction itself of gigantic routes, and their management after they are constructed, on which everybody who pleases will be allowed to run cars and locomotives. Nor is this all, or the least. The Government inspectors, who, under our present system, are pretty sure to be men who have failed in the ordinary walks of life, and have never been able to make their own books balance, are to prescribe the proper mode of book-keeping, and the proper rate of profits, and the proper rate of expenditure, in a business in which \$3,000,000,000 of capital is already invested, which is carried on over the whole area of the Union, and which is one of so much complication already, and involves so much nice adjustment of detail, that the proper conduct of it has become a profession which needs the training of half a lifetime and a very high order of talent. The right to do this is extracted, too, by the usual hermeneutic juggle from a provision of the Constitution which all honest commentators know was simply intended to enable the Government to prevent the imposition of tolls or other obstructions to trade and commerce by the individual States. The idea of giving the Administration or its officers the power of fixing the rates at which common carriers should transport goods was too wild to have entered even the heads of the wildest men at that period; and its wildness has been increased, in our day, by the magnitude and wonderful increase of the business which it is seriously proposed to place under the control of such persons as may earn the gratitude of the President in each political campaign. When the Chief-Justiceship of the Supreme Court is offered as the reward of services on the stump, railroad-inspectorships, with power to examine books and regulate property, might well be; and they would, in the hands of "practical men," become offices that even collectors of customs would envy, particularly as no good reason could be offered why express companies, steamboats, and coasting sloops should not be eventually subjected to their jurisdiction.

Now, we firmly believe that the great body of the people are utterly opposed to all these schemes of centralization. It would be difficult to find, even among the ordinary members of the Granges, a man who would soberly by the fireside defend them. They are essentially the work of professional agitators, and politicians, and "statesmen"; but this body is sufficiently active and diligent, while the rest of the community is apathetic or occupied with its lawful affairs. Yet this does not, after all, answer the enquiry which stands at the head of this article. The wonder still remains that this hostile sentiment has not already produced among the politicians a strong representation, capable of making a deter-

mined resistance to any further advance on the path on which we are now travelling, and of awakening the public to the dangers of the changes in the character of the government which we are year by year witnessing. That the Democratic party stops the way by usurping the name of an opposition is no answer, for it makes no secret of the fact that its opposition is a sham. It votes solidly for every scheme of inflation, or corruption, or centralization, for pecuniary purposes, which the Republicans propose; indeed, it outdoes the Republicans in its clamor for paper money; and as to personal honesty, it is enough to say that it has this session put up a forger and embezzler as a candidate for the Speakership of the House. All this of course robs it completely of the character of a separate party. It is to all intents and purposes now a part and parcel of the corrupt and dangerous portion of the Republican party, and takes so little pains to conceal the fact, that it competes with the majority in all the leading follies of the day.

THE POST-OFFICE DEFICIENCY.

THE postal expenditures for the next fiscal year have given rise to some discussion in the Senate, and called out some comments in the House. As the amount estimated for deficiencies is greater than ever before, it has furnished a pretext for many flings at the abolition of the franking privilege, and will probably furnish a foundation for some attempt at restoring that abuse. The opponents of the Postmaster-General ascribe the unprecedented amount of the expenditures for the next fiscal year to extravagance, and the friends of the Postmaster-General seem much puzzled in trying to explain or justify it.

So far as the public—that is, the tax-paying portion of the people—are concerned, the benefit anticipated from doing away with the franking privilege was threefold. First, a large amount of fraudulent matter was to be excluded from the mails; second, a large amount of worthless public documents it was supposed would no longer encumber them; third, the printing of public documents would be greatly curtailed. So far as the Post-Office Department, considered as a separate institution, is concerned, the benefits were supposed to be twofold. First, its income would be augmented by actual payment for the stamps which the other departments of the Government use; second, its expenditures would be diminished by the diminished quantity of matter which would be carried in the mails. With regard to the first of these benefits, it somewhat exceeds the anticipation, and the amounts appropriated by Congress for the purchase of postage-stamps threatened to run short before the expiration of the present fiscal year. As to the second, it is said that sufficient time has not yet elapsed to enable the benefit to ripen and bear fruit in the form of diminished expenditures. The country, it seems, is divided into four contract sections. The contracts run for four years and expire in only one section each year. Consequently, in three-fourths of the country the mails are carried under antecedent contracts, and it is only in a small part of these contracts that the remuneration is estimated by the weight of the mails. Consequently, neither the public nor the Post-Office Department has yet reaped the advantage of reduced expenses from reduced mail matter. As to the benefit anticipated from the reduced quantity of public documents printed, it does not seem to enter into the discussion of Members of Congress, or, if alluded to, it is only to point out the fact that the honorable member's constituents have been wrongfully cut off from immense stores of valuable information necessary to cultivate their understandings and perfect themselves in a knowledge of their duties as citizens.

Several reasons, indeed, are advanced by the friends of the Postmaster-General in the Senate for the enormous estimates for the next fiscal year. The amount of this expenditure, it must be remembered, is in round numbers \$29,000,000. In 1837, it was only \$3,000,000. In 1866, it was \$15,000,000. Last year it was \$23,000,000; and next year, as we have said, it is anticipated that it will be over \$29,000,000. The first reason for an increase is undoubtedly a

substantial one, namely, that the Department is charged with the subsidies paid to certain steamship companies. These, we may observe, foot up \$1,225,000. Next, it is insisted that with the increase of population there must be an addition of routes; and it is noted with some complacency that, while the population increases about nine per cent. annually, the anticipated addition of routes is only about two per cent. But there is manifestly no connection whatever between increase of population and an increased deficiency of the Postal Department. The extension of civilization is one thing, and density of population is another. The former increases the deficiency of the Department; the latter augments its receipts and reduces its deficiency. The two elements have opposite effects, and it is extraordinary that they could be jumbled together or confounded with each other.

A third reason assigned is the interference of Congress with the discretion and administration of the Postmaster-General. Congress is in the habit of dictating new routes, which have to be established by the Department. Now, new routes are always expensive and never profitable. For a government to increase its routes as civilization spreads is to act like a corporation, say a gas company, which, instead of paying over its profits as dividends, expends them in laying mains through new streets. The postal capital, so to speak, is steadily enlarged and the postal profits are necessarily diminished; and as the new business thus undertaken is always for a while a losing business, the loss is greater than the amount primarily invested. Within certain bounds, the interference of Congress is proper and necessary. A Postmaster-General cares little for remote settlements and much for making the Department appear to be in a thriving condition—that is to say, doing a profitable business. He is likely, therefore, to be always opposed to the extension of routes, and, even if not opposed to them, the responsibility is one which he would prefer should be, and which properly ought to be, assumed by Congress. But while Congress may designate a place or territory, it does not follow that it should designate a route. For instance, we read an amendment, proposed by Mr. Mitchell of Oregon, and agreed to, establishing a route “from Eugene City *via* Diamond Lake, Fort Klamath, Sprague’s River, Drew’s Valley, and Goose Lake to Winnemucca.” For anything we know to the contrary, and for anything that the honorable senators, as they confessed, knew to the contrary, the inhabitants of Sprague’s River, Drew’s Valley, and Goose Lake may now have post-offices and “mail facilities.” If they have not, it is within the proper discretion of Congress to direct that they shall have them. But prescribing a particular route which the Post-office will be bound by, is for Congress to mix itself up in the administration of the Postal Department. This route, in short, may be much more beneficial to some unknown stage proprietors than to the people of Sprague’s River and Goose Lake.

The last reason assigned that we notice is that the Post-Office Department is now doing what some senators call an “express business.” In other words, it carries newspapers and packages. Mr. Morrill of Maine strenuously calls upon Congress to “free it from the characteristics of an express” and “to lop off all that dead-weight.” The postal service is designed, primarily and chiefly, for the general dissemination of intelligence, but in this country and in all countries it has attached to itself a second property in ministering to the public convenience. In some other countries, it has become a much more perfect instrumentality for serving public convenience than with us, and the general desire is not to curtail its usefulness but to extend it. The idea of treating the interests of the Post-Office Department as something distinct from and paramount to the interests of the community, is an absurdity. We do not keep up the Post-office that it may do a profitable business. Our object in having one is that it may serve the public; and calling a part of its service an “excrescence,” or a “dead-weight,” or “an express business,” does not help the matter at all. The simple question will be whether the American people wish to give up the public convenience of this part of the mail service, and the very decided answer of everybody will be that they

do not. It is certain that a considerable saving may be had by sending packages and papers by slower trains than we send letters, and it is possible that the rate of postage upon them is relatively too low; but those are details of the business, and the details can be amended without abandoning the business.

When we look over the whole field of postal expenditures, we see that there have been certain causes which must have affected the ratio of deficiency, irrespective of these details of the business. Up to 1850, the postal service was self-supporting. In 1850 or thereabout came our accessions of territory upon the Pacific coast, and deficiencies in the service then began. In the Southern States the service had never been self-supporting, and consequently, when the war suspended the business there, the business became again self-supporting. In 1866, when the mail service was restored to the South, the expenditures were greater than the receipts, and we have had deficiencies without exception since then. But about that time we also pushed this business into an entirely new field, where transportation commanded almost fabulous prices, so that at one time the Department had to refuse to carry anything there except at letter rates of postage. We allude of course to the new Territories and the Overland mail routes. It is therefore apparent that there have been causes and effects entirely beyond the control of the Post-office Department, and that Congress, while cavilling at the effects, has on the one hand avoided looking at the causes, and on the other evaded the real and practical work of enquiring whether the Department is economically administered.

There is one very noticeable fact in the history of our postal service which has attracted little if any attention, and it is, that its greatest improvements took place during the rebellion. The engrossing topics of the war diverted public attention from the civil administration of the government, and what would have appeared at another time a most creditable piece of statesmanship, then passed as of comparatively little importance. But it is due to Mr. Montgomery Blair to say that he set himself to the task of perfecting the work of his department, and that he accomplished more than any Postmaster-General has done before or since. The first of these improvements was our uniform rate of postage, and although this may have contributed to the deficiencies of the Department, it has been an immense convenience to the public. In the next place, he brought about the system of free delivery in cities, and its advantages consist not merely in public convenience, but indeed positive profit to the Government. For in a single quarter after it was introduced the receipts of the New York Post-Office nearly doubled, while the percentage of letters returned to the Dead-Letter Office greatly decreased. In the third place, he introduced the money-order system, the conveniences and advantages of which it is hardly necessary to specify. We may note, however, that the controlling motive of the Postmaster-General was not so much the public convenience as it was to prevent the sending of money in the mails, and thereby to remove the inducement for post-office robberies. Finally, it was Mr. Blair who established the postal-car system, which he proposed to carry so far that in connection with his city carriers he would almost do away with the necessity of city post-offices. The policy of the present Postmaster-General has been of a more ambitious order, looking not so much to the improvement of the system as to its extension, proposing not to perfect it but to push it into the new fields of postal-telegraphs and savings-banks. The talk of Congress indicates a policy that will impair its usefulness—to load it with the franking privilege and to cut off from it the “excrescences” of carrying printed matter and small packages. The wish of the public undoubtedly is to hold fast to all that the postal service now does, and to pause over its extension until a perfected civil service and repleted treasury give assurance that the business if undertaken can be creditably performed. The financial troubles of the Government probably have disposed of the forward movement for some time to come; but it is not unlikely, if Congress is left to do as it pleases, that this, the most useful of our instrumentalities of government, will be carried a long way backward in its path of improvement.

"THE PARTY" IN CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1874.

THE embarrassments of the good, old-fashioned, "straight-out" party-men are increasing from day to day. The time when a "sound" Republican or Democrat could follow the word of command as it came from the lips of "great leaders" with unreasoning confidence, and then go to sleep conscious of having done "the right thing," are over and not likely to return. The partisan mind stands utterly bewildered before the questions of the day. The party doctors disagree on almost everything, and even those who are always anxious to "please the President," are sometimes sorely puzzled as to whether the President, if they go with him to-day in one direction, will not desire them to go with him in another to-morrow. Men who have never before thought for themselves, find themselves forced to do so now, and the result is a state of mental and moral discomfort in Congressional circles, the like of which has scarcely ever been experienced before. What the average Congressman will think when forced to think for himself, nobody can tell; and we may therefore look for a confusion of ideas which will be apt to make the legislation of this Congress the wonder of the world, unless the few who have done their own thinking before, acquire an influence upon the floundering mass which they certainly do not possess to-day.

The salary business is happily put out of the way, and everybody who has the honor of Congress and the country at heart is disposed to let it rest without saying another word about it. But the angry feelings which the discussion has created among members of either party are still rankling with undiminished bitterness, and may break forth again on any occasion. We have also a new Chief-Justice now, and that quarrel is at an end. But the President has, to his utter amazement, seen the ever-faithful majority in the Senate in open rebellion, while the ever-faithful have become aware that the President may sometimes be so wilfully wrong as to force them to protect the public interest against his vagaries. The result is a very marked change in personal relations, which cannot remain without an effect upon the discipline and cohesiveness of the party. Looking over the list of "great chiefs," we find only two who are in perfect accord with the White House; only two who could be counted upon to go with the President through thick and thin, and those two most apt to "run things into the ground." They are Mr. Conkling in the Senate, and General Benjamin F. Butler in the House. How large a number of followers they will be able to muster, beyond those whose only political aim and end consists in the distribution or enjoyment of the Government patronage, is very questionable. It is certainly not as large to-day as it was a few weeks ago.

It is generally understood here that Mr. Conkling is a candidate for the Presidential succession in full training. He belongs to that class of politicians who rely for success more upon party discipline than upon the favor of public opinion. He wants, therefore, to have the party machinery, which is almost entirely in the hands of the officeholders, at his command, and to this end he needs the friendship of the President. In order to secure that, he finds it necessary to champion every measure the President has at heart, however unpopular it may be. Thus he was understood to press the confirmation of Mr. Williams as well as Mr. Cushing for the Chief-Justiceship. It is indeed stated, on what seems to be good authority, that General Grant is again seriously thinking of securing a third nomination for himself. But Mr. Conkling expects that the President will soon enough become convinced of the impossibility of such a thing, and will then throw his whole influence at the next Republican National Convention in favor of his most faithful friend and servant. In this way Mr. Conkling's singular movements are explained by those who pretend to be familiar with what is going on behind the curtain.

Mr. Morton, whose eye is fixed with equal determination upon the Presidency, is following a policy essentially different. He tries to make himself the advocate of the popular side of every question. He would have preferred to retain his intimate relations with the President at the same time, but he does not hesitate to risk the latter when the two things come in conflict. He was understood to oppose the confirmation of Mr. Williams as well as Mr. Cushing with his whole influence, and in this case undoubtedly gained a point on Mr. Conkling. He also thinks that the cry for "more money" is a popular cry, and thus he makes himself the champion of inflation. On the transportation question also he is understood to take advanced ground, in order to ingratiate himself with the "farmers' movement." He has, however, found one very serious stumbling-block in his way, and that is the Louisiana question. In this matter, at least, Mr. Morton was believed to be in the heartiest accord with the Administration. His recent speech for the admission of Mr. Pinchback to a seat in the Senate dwelt upon the recognition of the Kellogg Government by the President as the conclusive point. But now it suddenly appears that the President is growing tired of the tribulation the Louisiana business has brought upon him; that he has

withdrawn his countenance not only from Pinchback but from the Kellogg Government also, and is in favor of having a new election in Louisiana ordered by Congress. Such a change of front on the part of the Administration does not embarrass a man like Butler, to whom such little eccentricities are rather amusing. But Mr. Morton had treated this matter as serious business, and devoted his best efforts to the task of proving that the Administration was right and must be sustained. He counted upon the support of the President to carry his point in the Senate, and, that support failing, he finds himself in a somewhat ridiculous position. He is said to be vigorously at work to convince the President of the error of his ways, but in order to provide for the contingency of failure in this respect, he has already attempted a flank march to disguise his own retreat. Such is said to be the meaning of his motion to refer the Pinchback case to the Committee on Privileges and Elections on *personal* grounds. Mr. Carpenter in the Senate and Mr. Butler in the House are going to introduce bills to order a new election in Louisiana, and then we may look for fierce conflicts in the Republican camp in both Houses.

Behind Messrs. Conkling and Morton there stands a third candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Speaker Blaine, who plays his part with greater dexterity than either, and, being by his position enabled to remain more or less neutral in the contests going on around him, looks on with complacency to see how his rivals are busily at work destroying one another without touching him. These may appear small matters at first sight; but they have great influence upon the movements of factions, and serve to intensify that bewilderment and confusion which will, in a great measure, make legislation the football of accident and must finally result in the utter breaking up of party discipline and organization.

The debate on the currency question in the Senate is dragging on at the rate of one or two speeches a day. It may be a little tedious to a large portion of the public, but it has certainly been fruitful of good results. There were probably not more than half a dozen persons in the Senate who had ever given any serious thought to the subject, and a speech on finance was always sure to clear the galleries as well as the floor. Now even the most indifferent members of the Senate have begun to listen, and some of them seem to be actually beginning to understand. To be sure, the attempts of such men as Mr. Logan to "study up things" appear ludicrous enough, but that they should feel tempted to look into a book at all is already a point gained. The Senate is being closely canvassed by the advocates of resumption as well as the inflationists, and the report is that there will be a small but firm majority against any increase of the volume of legal-tender currency beyond four hundred millions, while, on the other hand, no bill providing for any method of resumption would at present have any chance of success. The inflationists will probably endeavor to reach their object by an addition to the number of national banks in the West and South, and a corresponding increase of national bank currency. This indirect movement for inflation is not without danger, and the resumptionists will have to be watchful to defeat it. How long the debate in the Senate will last, nobody can tell; but the general impression here is that the time is well spent, and the advocates of specie resumption hope to gain votes by a prolonged discussion.

In the House the inflationists command at present beyond doubt a considerable majority; but even there it is said that they are slowly losing ground. There are good observers here sanguine enough to think that, if the anti-inflation majority in the Senate stands firm, things may gradually take such a favorable turn in the House as to render the success of some healthy financial legislation possible toward the close of this session of Congress. But as for the present, the forty-four million reserve will be out in a short time, and it is very doubtful whether the bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, to legalize that measure of inflation, can be defeated, although a vigorous opposition will certainly be offered in the Senate.

ENGLAND.—ELECTION ISSUES.

LONDON, January 10, 1874.

AS the parliamentary session draws near, the political atmosphere grows clearer and calmer. We are not, it seems, to have an exciting session, in the party sense, although, perhaps, a laborious and useful one. There will be no more blazing measures until the general election has decided the question of confidence in her Majesty's present advisers. No more upas-trees will be cut down on either side of St. George's Channel until the country has pronounced its verdict upon the authors of the Irish Land and Church Bills, and the abortive University Education Bill. Nevertheless we are not, you may be sure, to have a barren or an idle session. If the Gladstone Government is doomed, it is resolved to die with harness on its back. Even the bitterest enemies of the Government, and their name is Legion, do

homage to the Premier's immense capacity for labor, and to his power of keeping the House of Commons at work. If the Liberal party are still in a majority in the constituencies (and the actual operation of the ballot seems to throw some doubt upon the fact), they must at least acknowledge that Mr. Gladstone has passed more radical measures in the space of five years than all the preceding Liberal ministries together since 1831. He has embodied in legislation the dreams of the reformers of fifty years ago; destroyed Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, established the principle of tenant-right, and virtually changed the ownership as well as the tenure of the Irish soil; transformed the electoral system by the ballot, and passed an Education Bill which, however imperfect or objectionable from the point of view of Nonconformist jealousy and pure religious neutrality and indifference, has swept thousands of poor outcasts of pauperism and ignorance into the national schools; and now, in this last session of the first Parliament elected under household suffrage, he is going to follow up the Judicature Bill (which abolished the absurd distinction between law and equity, and relieved the administration of justice from a world of antiquated encumbrances) by emancipating real property from entails and strict settlements, and other relics of feudalism and devices of monopoly, which make the fortunes of conveyancers and money-lenders, and leave the agricultural population at the mercy of impoverished tenants-for-life and mortgagees; simplifying the transfer of the soil, and making an estate in land as negotiable as any other article of trade, and cancelling the custom of primogeniture in cases of intestacy. If the bill does not satisfy the cry for "free land"—which means some sort of communistic expropriation or nothing—it will be an immense stimulus to agricultural productiveness, it will convert the rising middle and mercantile millionaires into a territorial aristocracy, who in due course will become the bulwark of the throne and constitution; it will gradually but surely revolutionize the condition of the entire rural population, when it is combined with twenty years' results of the Education Bill, with an equalized town and county suffrage, and with Mr. Arch's agricultural laborers' union, and his vast scheme of emigration which will turn this little island, or rather so much of it as is not a factory, a workshop, or a mine, into a model farm, worked by a few skilled mechanics and engineers.

The other great measure of the coming session is to be the local government and rating bill; taking up and piecing together into a comprehensive and compact scheme the fragmentary and tentative bills introduced, not very effectually, by Mr. Stansfeld last year, and summarily rejected by the Lords on account of their incompleteness and of the time (the latter end of July) at which they were brought up from the lower House. Such, at least, was the ostensible excuse for their rejection; but it may be doubted whether the Lords would have given a much more favorable welcome earlier in the year to measures which, instead of relieving "the land" at the expense of the consolidated fund, imposed rates upon property hitherto exempted. The fact is, Mr. Stansfeld's bill had the unpardonable defect, in the eyes of the Tories, of being based upon impartial and undeniable statistics, and not upon grievances which when they come to be examined are found to be fanciful. There is really no disposition on the part of the Government to deal hardly with the land, but why should the small fundholder who has not an acre to call his own in the country, help to pay for the rural police which protect the property of country gentlemen, or for the care of the poor laborers who have been reduced to lunacy by starvation? It seems to me that Sir Massey Lopes, a Tory landowner who did not come over with the Conqueror, may have cause to regret the agitation he began for the readjustment of local taxation, and he may rest assured that no possible parliament or government, whether Liberal or Tory, will ever readjust the burden of which he complains in the manner he desires.

If these two great measures, land-law reform and local-rating readjustment, are to be pushed forward between February and June, it is obvious that the young, independent and impulsive Radicals of the Left and Extreme Left must be content with the postponement *sine die* of their Equalization of Franchise Bills, their redistribution of seats (never a palatable question to any party in any legislature), their amendment of Mr. Forster's Education Bill in the sense of the Birmingham League. The ministry may possibly make some declaration on these subjects, to serve as a cry for the Radical constituencies. But between the recalcitrant Whigs and the Radical "irreconcilables," on the eve of an appeal to the country in which it is more likely that moderate Liberals will vote for a Conservative candidate under cover of the ballot than that Tories will vote for a Liberal, it is clear that Mr. Gladstone must for safety's sake "steer small," as sailors say. Sound, practical legislation will be his surest policy just now. The recent decisive defeat of the Liberal candidate at Stroud shows that even Liberal and manufacturing constituencies are in no humor at this moment for "blazing" legislation. This Stroud election is not to be explained away. Never before has a Conser-

vative candidate been returned by that borough. Stroud, like most manufacturing centres, was always Radical and Nonconformist. The late member, Mr. Winterbotham, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, who died from overwork at Rome the other day, and whose untimely fate is keenly regretted by public men of all parties who knew his worth, the charm of his character, the strength of his intelligence, and his statesmanlike promise, was politically radical in his tendencies and a thorough-going Dissenter both by family connection and by personal conviction. His local interest at Stroud as the son of a rich banker there was considerable, and his seat was as safe as that of any member of the House. His fellow-townsmen were proud of his talents and of his official rank and station; but they applauded him most when he declared, as he did in his last address to them, that he disapproved of the denominational character of Mr. Forster's Education Bill, and had voted against it, and would vote for the repeal of the obnoxious clauses; but that, as he reminded them with corresponding frankness, the fault in passing the bill was not so much Mr. Forster's as the blindness of the Nonconformists, who thought they could turn the denominational principle to their own advantage. Well, the Liberal candidate as successor to this able and estimable man was perhaps the very best that could have been found in all England for such a constituency as Stroud. Sir Henry Havelock, the son of the hero of Lucknow, himself a soldier of extraordinary merit and distinguished services, and withal an earnest friend to peace, a man of sincere and unaffected piety, an active Nonconformist, a thorough Liberal, and a supporter of Mr. Gladstone's administration. His opponent, a Mr. Dorrington, was it is true a local candidate; that is, a gentleman of landed estate resident in the neighborhood, connected with good county families, and personally liked and esteemed. He had stood two former contests and been heartily beaten, and no doubt he had "nursed" the constituency in the hope of a Conservative reaction. And his present victory, I am sorry to confess, can only be accounted for by that Conservative reaction which Liberal politicians and journalists are so fond of laughing at, as though it were the absurdest of fables. It seems impossible to doubt that the one point on which the Stroud electors, Liberals, Radicals, and Nonconformists preferred the Tory squire and churchman to a more distinguished candidate of their own faith and principles, was that Sir Henry Havelock professed himself a supporter of the Government; and, whether rightly or wrongly, such is the ingratitude and the fickleness of parties, to be a supporter of Mr. Gladstone is not at present a title to the confidence even of a constituency which never before elected a Tory.

This unpopularity of the Government is due, I believe, not so much to radical ingratitude or impatience, or Whig jealousy and fear, or Nonconformist dissatisfaction, as to a prevailing dislike among all classes and parties of certain members of the Cabinet, and all their works and ways. The British public, I need not tell you, has a horror of anything that savors of the pedant or the pedagogue in power. They dislike austerity and ecclesiasticism, sharp practice and pennywise niggardliness, and a spiritless foreign policy; they discover too much of the High-Church theologian in the Premier, of the college tutor in Mr. Lowe, of the *petit-maitre* in Lord Granville; and they are irritated by such trumpety scandals and blunders as the Zanzibar contract and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's recent purchase of a rotten old packet ship at a fancy price for the transport service on the Gold Coast. They never will forgive Mr. Lowe's screwing as Chancellor of the Exchequer. They don't believe in Mr. Cardwell as a Minister of War; and at this moment they are afraid that Lord Northbrooke is a red-tapist doctrinaire, ridiculously overweighted by his responsibilities as Governor-General in India in a time of famine. Perhaps they do Lord Northbrooke gross injustice; and that is my impression. But I cannot better or more briefly explain the sort of unpopularity into which a most conscientious, deserving, and laborious administration has fallen than by calling your attention to the tone, even of Liberal journals, in their articles on Mr. Grant Duff's recent annual lecture to his constituents at Elgin. Now, this illustrious representative of Omniscience, who, albeit in public life a strange compound of the Scottish economist, the German professor, and the French reviewer, is, in private life, really the most modest and amiable of men, is regarded by the British public as the type of the Gladstone administration, with the one redeeming virtue of not being a High-Church amateur theologian.

The frightful frequency of railway accidents during the past year has at length exceeded the patience of a most long-suffering public, and, in default of legislation and the Board of Trade (which only advises and inspects), a Railway Travellers' Protection Society is in course of formation, under substantial city auspices, to fight the battles of the maimed and mutilated railway traveller (or of his executors); to receive and investigate complaints against railway companies, whether for unpunctuality, want of accommodation, or any other cause; to secure a remedy, if possible, by amicable negotiation and the pressure of public opinion, and obtain redress of injuries for sufferers who cannot afford to bring an action on their own account.

The Landseer Exhibition at Burlington House is drawing all the town. It is a perfect panorama (so to say) of the artistic life and career of Sir Edwin from his earliest studies to the last unfinished sketches of his decline, and includes several pictures belonging to the Queen, and painted in the Highlands, which had never been exhibited. The critics seem to think that on the whole this collection of works of very different merit and value will not add to Landseer's fame, though among many admirable and not a few indifferent pictures it cannot be said that the *mala plura* strike the eye. No man ever loved his art more devotedly than Landseer, and it repaid him with the happiest hours of his life; but in him, as in many others of equal and greater genius, the artist was often sacrificed to the man of the world, to the favorite of great houses and the victim of social success. The general public, however, will, I dare say, contemplate this assemblage of masterpieces with a less fastidious and critical curiosity and admiration than are permissible to critics, who are condemned to discover the imperfections which the multitude indiscriminately admires.

Correspondence.

THE PROPOSED 3 $\frac{5}{100}$ PER CENT. LOAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article in your issue of Dec. 11, signed "New Englander," and articles on the same subject, and taking substantially the same ground, previously published in the *Nation*, seem to me to state incorrectly some of the features of a proposed 3 $\frac{5}{100}$ per cent. convertible loan. I am decidedly in favor of the earliest practicable return to specie payments, and generally sympathize with the views of the subject which have appeared in your columns, but in the discussion of the question I fear more the effect of weakness in the arguments of those supporting those views than any argument the opponents of resumption can offer.

"New Englander" says, "Every such issue (of 3 $\frac{5}{100}$ bonds) will increase the aggregate amount of debt, and it can only diminish the burden of interest upon the supposition that the community consists entirely of knaves or fools" (having previously in his article endeavored to show that the "fools" would be those who took the bonds at so low a rate of interest).

Now, I do not purpose to defend the scheme in question, but I think there is something good to be said on both sides of it, and hope it will be fairly and coolly discussed, and it seems to me that the above-quoted statement contains two errors: first, that there will be no inducement to take the bonds; second, that such issue will necessarily increase the aggregate amount of the debt.

The first error lies in not perceiving that, while the proposed issues would be nominally for loans to the Government, they would really be "certificates of deposit" bearing interest. The greenbacks given for them being kept on hand for their redemption on demand, an entirely secure and very convenient mode of placing deposits would be offered.

The objections which apply to ordinary forms of demand loans are, as was often illustrated during the last panic, the uncertainty of obtaining payment strictly on demand, and the difficulty and loss of time in case of non-payment in realizing through sale of the collateral. These objections are so great that many persons having funds on hand, which they may wish to control at a moment's notice, prefer to deposit them in a bank and get no interest rather than place them "on call" in the ordinary modes. Others deposit in "Trust Companies," and receive four per cent. interest. While this rate is but a small fraction larger than that proposed on the Government "Certificates of Deposit," late experience perhaps shows that the greater security and certainty of immediate payment of the latter would more than compensate for the difference of interest. Administrators, trustees, and others holding funds temporarily or awaiting investment, would avail themselves of this form of deposit, for its absolute security and certainty of return on demand. Banks (if required to keep their reserves where they ought to be—in their own vaults) would, if permitted, certainly keep the larger part of their reserves in these bonds (or certificates). The reserves, to the extent of the portion deposited in other banks, are in time of need unavailable. If kept in bonds convertible into greenbacks, they would always be available.

It has been objected that there is no reason why the Government should pay interest to the banks on their reserves; this is a distinct question which I do not think it necessary here to meet, my remarks so far being only to show one of the errors of your correspondent, who argues that there would be no inducement to take such a loan.

His second error which I have alluded to, viz.: that such an issue would necessarily increase the aggregate amount of the debt, lies in the assumption

that the only way of issuing the bonds would be by first issuing more greenbacks to be reconverted into the bonds.

If, as most persons who favor resumption of specie payment believe, there are now in circulation greenbacks (including those held by the banks in their reserves) in excess, why is it not fair to assume that the conversion will be made from the present stock of greenbacks? Certainly, so far as the banks are concerned, it would be so done; and if my supposition be correct that large classes of individuals would avail themselves of the loan, they would have to obtain the necessary greenbacks from the stock now in circulation to enable them to do so. If this were the case, the great danger apprehended by those opposed to the new form of loan—that of inflation—is removed, and contraction would occur to the extent of the bonds at any time outstanding.

The experiment, if tried, might test the question as to whether the present issue of greenbacks is or is not too large; or perhaps it might prove what its advocates claim, that at some seasons of the year conversions into bonds would be made, while at other seasons the reverse would take place. At all events, if no additional greenbacks are issued, the proposed form of loan would not cause inflation, for the bonds could not go out of the Treasury except by its taking in an equal amount of greenbacks, and if the loan do not prove attractive enough to tempt investment (or deposits, as I prefer to say), the experiment would cost nothing but for the paper and printing. If the further issue of greenbacks be connected with the scheme, and I have tried to show that it need not necessarily be so, I should join your correspondent in opposing it. I only want the measure to stand or fall upon its merits.

A part of the opposition to the scheme arises through confounding the proposed loan with the ordinary form of loans to the Government. I think it would be simplifying the question in the minds of many persons if the securities were considered as certificates of deposit bearing interest.

F. J.

Boston, Dec. 12, 1873.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent "F. J." thinks I have done scant justice to the so-called convertible-bond plan, and his criticism would have some force if any prominent public advocate of the issue of a 3 $\frac{5}{100}$ ths per cent. convertible bond had proposed such an issue with a view only to the conversion of existing greenbacks into it. Such, I believe, is not the fact; but, on the contrary, Butler, Kelley, and the whole crew have proposed an additional issue of greenbacks coupled with this convertible nostrum, which is only put forward in order to conceal the true character of the plot, and it is this scheme which I have held up as one fit only for the consideration of fools or knaves.

If the Government is fit to become a bank of deposit for the idle notes of the country at the time when neither the Treasury nor the people want the notes, it might be suitable to allow existing greenbacks to be converted into 3 $\frac{5}{100}$ ths bonds or "certificates of deposit." This would be a very convenient way of saving a little interest to the owners of the notes at the expense of the tax-payers. It would certainly tend to relieve capitalists of one of the risks of inconvertible notes, and would serve an excellent purpose for the stock-jobber and speculator while he was getting ready to play his little game; but how it would promote the re-establishment of the specie standard I am at a loss to see.

The only conversion that will be of any service and that will tend to promote specie payment, will be the offer of a 5 per cent. gold bond for the funding of the legal-tender notes at the will of the holders, coupled with the absolute prohibition for their reissue, lest some Secretary of the Treasury should again undo the good work of his predecessors with his mischievous tinkering.

It is refreshing to see that a few senators have found courage to denounce the continued use of the legal-tender notes as a lie and a fraud; and it is much to be hoped that the people will presently learn to call the advocates of any further issue thieves. If that man is not a thief who would debase the currency by further inflation, we might as well burn our dictionary and cease to attempt any definitions. The legal-tender act was an act for the collection of a forced loan, and war alone was its justification. The further issue of legal-tender notes would be the collection of another forced loan in time of peace and plenty. Such an act would be infamous, and the men who vote for it will become infamous.

It will be no palliation of the crime to allege that legislators and Secretaries of the Treasury know no better. The man who should undertake to navigate an ocean steamer without experience, and wrecked her, would be no more guilty than he who would tamper with the currency as an executive or legislative officer. The plea of ignorance would not shield such a navigator, but we have found no punishment yet for the official who made the

country a laughing-stock by attempting to resume specie payment to the extent of five dollars in silver, and failed in the attempt. He did not make a complete shipwreck, but what will he do next? Instead of impeaching him, Congress now proposes to legalize his doings, and his last predecessor has taken the longest step toward repudiation that has yet been made, in denying that there is any obligation upon the Government to pay its notes except at its pleasure.

NEW ENGLANDER.

Notes.

THE Rev. William R. Alger is to prepare the "authorized" 'Life of Edwin Forrest,' from facts and materials placed in his hands by the tragedian before his death, and from other papers furnished by the executors. Mr. Alger will improve the opportunity to say something of the nature of the dramatic art, the history of the drama, and the relation between the church and the stage, and will vindicate "the noble uses of the dramatic function in human life." The volume will be illustrated and printed in a costly manner, and published by J. B. Lippincott & Co. The same house has in press a new 'Life of Franklin,' by the Hon. John Bigelow; a popular life we take it to be, and at all events one much needed.—Part 17 of Stieler's 'Hand-Atlas' (New York: L. W. Schmidt) contains maps, of the usual fine quality, of Bohemia and Silesia, Southeastern Germany with part of Northern Italy, and another instalment of the map of the United States. The last embraces the section lying between Wyoming Territory and Indiana, and between the Dominion of Canada and the 40th parallel.—Mr. Simcox's essay on the "Transformation of the British Face," in the January number of the *Art Journal* (New York: Virtue & Yorston), is disappointing, especially as there seems to be no intention to follow it up in subsequent papers. Yet the subject affords a fine field for illustration. There is an admirable steel engraving of Tennyson in this number.—Col. Higginson gives, in the last number of the *Woman's Journal*, a tabular statement of the health of forty-one women graduates of Antioch College, from 1857 to 1873. Three-fourths of them are reported as enjoying "good" or "very good" health, and 34 have taught since graduating. The married (all graduated prior to 1871) number 30. It is not clear from the table whether "number of children" means children born, or children surviving. One graduate has had six, no other more than three, the average being two; but the date of marriage is not indicated.—The Second Biennial Report of the San Francisco Park Commissioners, now before us, is chiefly interesting for its discussion of the methods adopted in various countries for reclaiming sand dunes. An experiment has already been made on the dunes of the Golden Gate Park, proving the possibility and the cheapness of such reclamation on the Pacific coast.—A 'Life of Mrs. Barbauld,' by Mrs. Ellis, is announced by J. R. Osgood & Co.—A. S. Barnes & Co. will publish 'Familiar Hymns in their Original Forms,' by Rev. W. L. Gage.—Mr. Motley's 'Life and Death of John of Barneveldt' will be reprinted here by Harper & Bros., along with Mr. William Black's 'Princess of Thule.' They will also publish the proceedings and official documents of the Evangelical Alliance of 1873, under the editorship of Dr. Philip Schaff.—Wilson, Hinkle & Co., Cincinnati, announce a 'Manual of the Constitution of the United States,' designed, as the sub-title states, for the instruction of American youth in the duties, obligations, and rights of citizenship. The author is Israel Ward Andrews.—'The Discrepancies of the Bible,' by John W. Haley, A.M.; 'Memories of Westminster Hall'; and 'What Young People should Know,' being the anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of the human reproductive organs, by Prof. Burt G. Wilder, are among the announcements of Estes & Lauriat, Boston.—We have received from Mr. E. Steiger, 24 Frankfort Street, a copy of Schedler's 'Topographical Map of the Island of Cuba,' mounted for hanging on the wall. It is also published in a folded form with paper covers. The map is drawn on a liberal scale (23 x 34 inches), with very full details, and is the best with which we are acquainted. That our interest in the affairs of Cuba will increase rather than diminish from this time, is something on which, in our opinion, the map-maker may surely count.

—Mr. H. K. Brown, the sculptor whom General Robert C. Schenck certifies to be the only American sculptor who can make an equestrian figure, appears to have alternating luck with his statues. He made the Washington in Union Square; but he also made the Lincoln—an unsuccessful attempt at grappling with difficulties which are undeniable, but which would have been no more than a spur to some others of our artists. What the work now is every one knows. Just at present, Mr. Brown has set all New Jersey by the ears over a statue of the late Major-General Philip Kearney, who was killed at Chantilly in 1862. General Kearney was not only an accomplished and distinguished officer, but he had in a high degree the

qualities which conciliate the warm affection of the rank and file. He was dashing, impetuous, of brilliant courage, a good disciplinarian, not a strict liver in any sense of the word, and he appears to have been a general who practised one unflinching art of securing the confidence and fondness of his men—he personally cared for their welfare and comfort. It was not long, then, before he became a popular idol. Those were the days of "Little Mac." Naturally, his old soldiers are enthusiastic and very proud of him and his reputation as a Jerseyman. But as it happened, General Kearney, when an adventurous young man had served as a volunteer in Algeria in the French service, and afterward, just before our own war of the Rebellion, in Italy, where he fought at Solferino and Magenta and for the second time was decorated with the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, and where he acquired the right to wear, if he so chose, French uniforms of various patterns—all of which, it is said, he was rather fond of wearing. These, however, are not the uniforms in which his old soldiers in Franklin's division or Heintzelman's corps think that their brigadier-general and major-general should be figured, and there is a great warfare among the New Jersey legislators. Mr. Brown appears to have acted in ignorance of this soldierly feeling, and making use of a photograph which represents the American Major-General in the costume of a foreign officer—and a costume which we believe the General's private taste had caused to seem still more unlike the dress of one of our own soldiers—he has produced a statue which displeases a great many people. The Jerseymen are the more unwilling to be lightly pleased and placated in this matter, because the statue is one of the two which their State, like every other State, is to send on to Washington for the adornment of the national Capitol. The dispute has engendered a good deal of bickering, and has taken a much wider range than at first sight seems called for. Among other things discussed in some quarters has been the decency of setting up statues of soldiers, however gallant in the field, whose conduct of their private lives is known to have not been scrupulously regulated by a regard for the proprieties. A little consideration, however, will show that had former ages made use of this test of a general's claim on his countrymen for a memorial statue, we should have lost numbers of effigies which we are now glad to possess. It is after all the chief glory of a general, that in the time of his country's danger he destroys and confounds her enemies and gives his life in her defence. And, after all, there are more kinds of honor than one, and without embarrassing ourselves we may give admiration and statues to Caesar and to Antony, and still find ourselves able to pay due and adequate acknowledgment to the continent Scipio, to Washington, and to William the Silent.

—The library of Harvard University has been enriched by a gift of such a peculiar value that it deserves public recognition. Mr. Charles F. Bradford, of Roxbury, known as a lover of Spanish literature, and long an admiring student of Cervantes, has presented to the college his manuscript work, in three thick volumes, entitled "Index to the Notes of D. Diego Clemencin in his edition of 'Don Quijote,' Madrid, 1833-39, 6 tom. 4to., with numerous references to obscure and difficult passages in the text; also with references in the margin to Mr. Ticknor's 'History of Spanish Literature,' 3 vols., edition of 1863." This 'Index' represents a labor of love of more than fifteen years. It is presented, beautifully bound, in Mr. Bradford's own handwriting, so neat and firm and even that for convenience of reference it leaves nothing to be desired. It is as clear to the eye as print. In 1865, Mr. Bradford had presented to the library a copy of the best edition of Clemencin's 'Don Quijote,' a rare and priceless work, which, as Brunet truly says, is rather "un tableau exact des mœurs de l'Espagne à l'époque où écrivait Cervantes, qu'un simple travail philologique." This Mr. Bradford gave, accompanied by a seventh manuscript volume containing his index to the principal notes. Now he has presented the same increased more than threefold, carefully noting every point explained by the Spanish commentator, even going further to explain obscure words and expressions in the text of Cervantes which Clemencin had passed by, and adding numerous references upon literary matters to Mr. Ticknor's 'History of Spanish Literature.' The accurate key thus presented to Clemencin's valuable notes will serve a higher use than many may think. The number of books and of good books is such that the most constant reader can hope to become acquainted with only a small fractional part even of those treating of subjects which interest him most. We are constantly forced to choose, and put aside, postponing to a future day, which may never come, the reading of works which we think contain much that we wish to know. But the very information we most need for our special study lies buried among other matter to us of little import, and is inaccessible to us from want of time. Much of this information may be found in works which are themselves fragmentary or explanatory of others, and so disconnected that no human patience can be proof against the monotony of a search which in the end may be fruitless. Such are the numerous elaborate commentaries that have appeared from time to time on the writings of the great authors of

the world. A good index to any such production is a means of making its utility tenfold what it was; and the index-maker, however ungrateful the task may have seemed, has done the next best thing to lengthening human existence: he has enabled those who profit by his labors to save time and to concentrate their energies when otherwise they might have wasted them.

—Mr. Bradford is very modest in calling his gift merely an 'Index to Clemencin.' It has in many points the merits of an original work. It contains notes which are not in Clemencin, some of which, perhaps, would not have been made by a Spanish commentator, but which are all very useful to a foreign student. Within the space of a few pages, such notes will be found upon *convidar*, *cotufa*, *cuerno de la luna*, *cuerpos*, and many others. Many of the words are explained once by Clemencin with the remark that they occur again, but the reader who may not have read the first passage, or who may have forgotten it, is at a loss when he meets the word unexplained. Mr. Bradford's 'Index' is precious in such cases, as under each word that presents any difficulty he refers to every passage in which it occurs in 'Don Quijote.' Nor is the 'Index' wholly Spanish. There are numerous cross-references in English which enable us to look up the subjects treated in the notes or in the original work, as, on the very first pages, "Absurdities of style, see Silva—Actors in Spain—Arabic, the language—Arabic origin of the Quijote—Arabic words in Spanish," etc. A special feature of the 'Index' is the frequent translation of difficult Spanish idioms. These will be very valuable to the student. Often a single English expression throws more light upon an obscure Spanish passage than the long and we should like to say somewhat tedious note of Clemencin, did we not fear Mr. Bradford would seriously object to the latter epithet. It is only to be regretted that Mr. Bradford's modesty prevented him from developing into many pages his too short article headed "Mistakes of Clemencin and apparently over-nice Criticisms." Whatever may be the authority of the Spanish commentator, it would not "seem to be great presumption" in Mr. Bradford to question it now and then. No one would be better qualified than he for the task. If long years of patient study and an enlightened appreciation of the author do not give him the right to speak authoritatively on many points connected with 'Don Quijote,' what can? Let us add that this manuscript is really a special dictionary, both for the language and for the subject-matter, of the greatest work the Spaniards have produced. While in French Corneille, Mme. de Sévigné, Racine, Molière, and others have full and valuable lexicons, Cervantes in Spanish has none. Mr. Bradford deserves the thanks of all for having so generously contributed to supply this deficiency.

—Among the lamented dead of 1873 must now be reckoned David Livingstone. News comes that while on his way, last summer, from Lake Bemba (Bangweolo) to Unyanyembe, doubtless with England before him as his final destination, he fell ill from wading through a flooded country and never recovered. There is something infinitely sad in the thought of such a fate overtaking him at such a time, even if his latest explorations shall prove to have added nothing to those already made known to the world through the instrumentality of the *Herald*. The event, however, cannot take by surprise the readers of Mr. Stanley's narrative, still less those who have, in private conversation, heard him describe the really decrepit state of Livingstone, and the unconquerable pride which not only would not acknowledge the decay of his physical powers, but resented with almost childish impatience the delicate consideration of his rescuer. He was not old, as we are accustomed to think of the aged in settled civilized life, being at least two years under sixty at the time of his death. But full half of his life he had spent in the tropics and sub-tropics, mostly in arduous journeying; and for more than half he had so identified his name and his fortunes with Africa that, ever since his wife was buried there, no other seemed more his native country than the land in which he too has now found rest. If we except Barth, and possibly Rohlf, no explorer has traversed a greater portion of Africa; and Barth alone might contest with Livingstone the honor of opening up the wider area of *terra incognita*. Roughly speaking, the map of Southern Africa, from a line drawn from the mouth of the Congo to Zanzibar, has been closed by Livingstone. Negatively he has determined the sources of the Nile, and positively (there is every reason for believing) the sources of the Congo; has traced the entire course of the Zambesi, and discovered or completed our knowledge of the vast lake system lying between these three great rivers. As a mere explorer, therefore, his fame is secure; but, as all the world knows, and as has so often been written of him in premature obituaries, he was a philanthropist before he was an explorer—even, we may add, before he was a missionary. His life came at last to be devoted to the exposure and extirpation of the slave-trade; and it is a great consolation that he has succumbed to the deadly climate of Africa, and not to the treachery and violence of the dealers in men.

—We have received from Mr. L. W. Schmidt No. 1 (for January 3, 1874).

of the revived *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*. This weekly periodical, the lineal descendant, we believe, of the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* of Schiller's day, was suspended at the close of 1848, and after a long sleep reappears, not so much as rubbing its eyes, however, for neither in the body of the paper nor in the advertisements can one discover any allusion to its resurrection, its previous career, or its present programme. It goes right on as if the past quarter of a century had been but a day. Its scope is still "allgemeine," as becomes the organ of a university. Theology, jurisprudence, political economy, medicine, biology, pedagogy, art, history, belles-lettres, are all represented in the works reviewed in this first number. Dr. Ernst Haeckel notices in conjunction Oscar Schmidt's 'Descendenzlehre und Darwinismus' (which he praises highly as a compendious statement of the theory of descent, and of the problems growing out of it), and J. W. Spengel's 'Fortschritte des Darwinismus,' a work of which the reviewer is by no means fond. Mr. Spengel has, it seems, not kept abreast of the enormous literary product now catalogued separately as "Darwinism," and so is but ill qualified to talk of the "progress" of the doctrine. Some of the most important works in support of it he does not mention at all, and many of the feeblest attacks upon it, "which deserve no mention, much less refutation," he duly takes account of; for example, Barrande's treatise, "written without a particle of biological knowledge," against the theory of evolution, and "the ultramontane Mivart's" objections (derived from the Fathers), to which Mr. Spengel actually allots five pages. He even cites Grisebach (on the geography of plants) against Darwin, "whereas the geographical distribution of plants precisely makes for and not against the descent theory." But greatest of all his offences is his partisan reliance upon Dr. Adolf Bastian, "whose madly-inflamed capaciades" against every form of the doctrine of evolution, and Darwinism in particular, "have long since ceased to provoke anything but a smile in critical scientific circles." Dr. Haeckel's indignation is all the greater because he has himself more than once refuted Dr. Bastian, and he concludes his remarks upon the unlucky Spengel by declaring that he "partly does not know, and partly does not understand."

—As ex-president of the Berlin Geographical Society, Dr. Bastian doubtless has rights which even a Darwinian is bound to respect. He has lately returned from a visit to the coast of West Africa, made in the interest of the Congo expedition, under Dr. Gusefeldt, which was sent out under the auspices of the Society. At a meeting in Berlin, on the 13th of December, he entertained his associates with an informal report of his observations in Africa. The expedition, he said, had discovered that its success would be mainly promoted by the establishments of the Dutch Trading-Union, originally founded in 1557, but of slow development until after the decline of the slave-trade in 1863 and 1864. This Rotterdam association, through its agents at the several factories, manifested perfect good-will towards the exploration, and afforded many secure bases of departure. On the other hand, the reliance placed in advance on the support of some one of the native kings of the coast, proved illusory. In fact, there are no longer any kings—a result of free trade, for one thing, and for another, of the very burdensome ceremonials of inauguration: not to speak of the monarch's responsibility, in his capacity of high-priest, for the failure of crops, the assaults of contagion, and the like. There are still princes and princesses; but the latter are almost invariably old maids, because by custom the husband of any one of them becomes her slave, and is bound to furnish his wife two slaves for every issue by her. Passing on to describe the fetich worship of these parts and the universal belief in wizards, Dr. Bastian said that scarcely could a person die on the coast but one or two others must be sacrificed as wizards. "Hence, in spite of a long peace and of the abolition of the slave-trade, the scantiness of the population." From the Portuguese the blacks learned to burn their wizards, and the pirates of the Congo delta have borrowed from the same source a fetich in the person of San Antonio. Still another Portuguese legacy to the coast tribes is bad debts, which the natives are prone to collect of the first European they encounter, as being a "brother" of their former debtor, and therefore responsible. This afforded a decisive reason for not making Cabinda the headquarters of the expedition. Dr. Bastian alluded to the recent false report that Dr. Livingstone was held a prisoner at no great distance from the coast, and explained how it might have arisen. Up to the time of his leaving the coast neither the English nor the French Congo expedition had made any positive advance into the interior.

SONGS OF THE SUNLANDS.*

THERE have never been any but slight and extrinsic reasons why the poetry of Mr. Miller should have attracted the attention not only of our own public, but of a transatlantic public as well. With another of our

* "Songs of the Sunlands. By Joaquin Miller." Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1873.

writers who has lately come into some European popularity, Mr. Walt Whitman, it has not been precisely so, though the two cases are not wholly dissimilar. Both the men were American; both were wild and free, as the English croquet-ground counts freedom; both were rather lawless and turbulent, and refreshing to jaded appetites; one would wear no handkerchief round his neck unless he pleased; and the other, if he pleased, would wear his hair down his back and surmount it with a Mexican sombrero, and thus equipped ride in the Park. Mr. Whitman, however, has, or has had, certain qualities really allying him to the poets, and which, although common, are not common in the degree in which he possesses them, and which it has not been usual to hear expressed with so very little reserve as he brought to their expression, or with so much genuine belief in their intellectual and poetical value. He seems to have experienced in a higher degree than most men a share of a kind of mystical rapture over the mere being and existence of things. We may suppose it to have been his possession of this gift which caused Mr. Emerson to greet him as a coming poet, it being then unknown what might be the intellectual wealth or barrenness behind it, and Mr. Emerson himself being so strong in this direction that one of his critics has said, "Mr. Emerson's widest generalization is Existence." Doubtless in making those enumerations of natural and artificial objects which so fill his works, and which to most students of Goldsmith say, or Cowper, must read like an incoherent half-mile of Broadway signboards, Mr. Whitman has felt the ecstatic glow, incomprehensible to most of us, but bringing home to the poet the inscrutable and ineffable wonder and delight of things, and the mystery of natural existence. It is true that, so far as his works then gave us evidence, we might imagine him as rapturous almost in chaos itself, amid the germs of things, as when sitting entranced on the knifeboard of a street omnibus; so long as he had the objects to name and himself to "celebrate" for making the list, he seemed likely to be happy; for of the severe demands of the arts of beauty, of the laws of form, of self-restraint and artistic selection, he seemed to have no notion whatever. To assert himself as he stood in his shirt-sleeves, and to speak out, with all contempt for the timid devices of rhymesters, whatever he saw, was his entire conception of poetry-making. It appears absurd to say so, but at first he rebelled against the comma and the semi-colon, and in the first edition of the happily christened 'Leaves of Grass' would none of the adventitious aid of those characters.

Nevertheless he had his one great gift and some others besides, and he used them freely and in a large and liberal way, if in a style that was crude and by-and-by very tedious. There might be doubt about the Sacred Nine's getting much from him; but about his unconventionality, and also about the unpoetic if not very successfully poetic nature of his rhapsodies, there could be no doubt at all. It may be understood, then, how it happened that all of a sudden there began to be European study of this outcome of American democracy, as it was thought to be, and may have been—poems without law and without church and without society, but not at all "without God and without hope in the world," but full of the "God" of "Little Breeches," and of self-assertion, "cameradoship," and a boundless and arrogant and ignorant confidence and self-confidence. So in Germany the poems have not long since been translated; in England and Ireland they have been reviewed and sold; and everywhere they have been discussed and commented on as the legitimate literary fruit of democratic institutions in the United States. At home we had for some time been looking on "Paumanok" and "Manhatta" and the rest of it much as the farmer learns to look on the mammoth varieties of fruits and vegetables which at first astonish the cattle-shows and country fairs, and are lauded for their bigness and oddity, and for being the genuine products of our virgin soil and not to be equalled elsewhere. The true flavor and the really nutritious qualities the farmer by-and-by discovers, as the more judicious had always known, to be residing in best abundance in the old familiar growths, not so prodigious, and grown on well-cultivated rather than on virgin soils. But abroad people are, for a while at least, naturally more curious about the strangeness of our varieties than the inherent goodness of them.

There was, as we have said, more than mere strangeness in Mr. Whitman's works to attract and repay foreign study. In Mr. Miller's we can find little more than the strangeness; and this consists mostly in the new scenery and stage properties; though that there is somewhat more to be found we would not wholly deny. There are gleams sometimes that hint a promise. But there is also an imitativeness so fluent and so exaggerative of all the details, both faulty and the meritorious, of the thing imitated; there is so little native strength of any kind; and what there may be is of so superficial a nature, that we should think it at least very premature to expect from Mr. Miller anything of any importance. Yet this volume may be pronounced an improvement on the former one in the sense of being less raw and crude in sentiment. The author is himself so much less terrible and

formidable a being in these verses than he was in the more Byronic ones, that the volume conveys the impression of more strength, though we should doubt if there were here anything really as poetical in conception as the "Arazonian," for example, which begins the "Songs of the Sierras." Certainly the opening poem of this book, the one entitled "The Isles of the Amazons," is not so good as that dramatic tale. It is a drowsy fantasy, very simple in detail; with very little fanciful ornament to relieve the author's diffusive treatment of the subject; tedious, therefore, in its length, and made more so by its sing-song metre and monotonous perpetual redundancy of adjectives. Yet the specimen of it that we select is perhaps the very best thing in the whole book, both for diction and as a bit of cleverness in description. The wanderer in the enormous equatorial forest reaches at last the shore of the Amazon:

"'Twas the king of rivers and the Isles were near;
Yet it moved so strange, so still, so strong,
And gave no sound, not even the song
Of a sea-bird screaming defiance or fear;

"It was dark and dreadful! Wide like an ocean,
Much like a river, but more like a sea,
Save that there was naught of the turbulent motion
Of tides, or of winds blown back or a-lee.

"Yet strangely strong was the wave and slow;
And half way hid in the dark deep tide,
Great turtles they paddled them to and fro,
And away to the Isles and the opposite side."

This recalls Thomson's "Mighty Orellana"—

"... with unabated force
In silent dignity they sweep along
And traverse realms unknown, and blooming wilds,
And fruitful deserts, worlds of solitude."

The younger poet does not come ingloriously out of the comparison, though the dignity of the continental stream appears to have been more felt by the elder.

As we have said, apart from the emptiness of the book in thought and its rawness of sentiment, a principal cause of the trouble it gives the reader is its very curious imitativeness:

"Thatch of palm and a patch of clover,
Breath of balm in a field of brown,
The clouds blew up and the birds flew over,
And I looked upward, but who looked down?"

This is less like using Miss Ingelow's pictures as examples than like transferring them, as if on tracing-paper, to one's own portfolio. There being so little in the matter, the manner becomes almost everything, and that is not the copyist's. So of his Swinburnianisms, which are most numerous. Still, while in the 'Songs of the Sierras' it was all Byron, the 'Songs of the Sunlands' show that Mr. Miller, without giving up his old idol, is extending his acquaintance with English poetry. And he is very *naïf* in his admirations, which, in one way, is not a bad sign.

We perhaps ought to say that the thing in 'Songs of the Sunlands' most trying to the reader is the short series of religious poems, or poems having reference to New Testament scenes and personages. This is highly offensive. Such matters, when treated of kindly and condescendingly by writers of Mr. Miller's ability and training, take on a singular aspect. That the theology of them in Mr. Miller's hands is not exactly such as would secure the suffrage of St. Thomas is not of so much importance—the utterances of the poets never in any age having been *de fide*; but that what is known to the country people as "goose-flesh" should be given to the skin of the ordinarily respectful reader of Scripture, as he observes Mr. Miller's dealings with Christian mysteries, is a more serious matter. Falser feeling and worse taste than are here made evident are seldom shown in the handling of such things; and to say that is to say a great deal.

RECENT NOVELS.*

'THE Coming Man' is a very singular book. It is not, as one would imagine from the title, a statement of what the world might be if only it could be created over again under the supervision of the novelist; it is a

* 'The Coming Man. By the Rev. James Smith, M.A. In two volumes.' London: Strahan & Co. New York: Geo. Routledge & Sons. 1873.

'His Marriage Vows. By Mrs. Caroline Fairfield Corbin.' Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. 1874.

'Jessamine: A Novel. By Marion Harland.' New York: G. W. Carleton & Co. 1873.

'A Good Match. By Amelia Perrier, author of 'Mea Culpa.' New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1873.

'Against the Stream: The Story of a Heroic Age in England. By the author of 'The Schönberg-Cotta Family,' etc.' New York: Dodd & Mead. 1873.

'Kenelm Chillingly: His Adventures and Opinions. By Lord Lytton.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

'Miss Forrester. A Novel. By Mrs. Edwards.' New York: Sheldon & Co. 1873.

'Thwarted; or, Duck's Egg in a Hen's Nest. A Story. By Florence Montgomery author of 'Thrown Together,' 'Misunderstood,' etc.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

'Nancy: A Novel. By Rhoda Broughton, author of 'Good-bye, Sweetheart,' etc.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874.

novel in which the characters are introduced, and what plot there is is contrived, for the purpose of expressing the author's views on the present condition of the Children of Israel. There is a certain amount of love-making thrown in, to be sure, but there is so much more theology-making that the frivolous will be disappointed. Nor will the curious be much better pleased, we suppose, for no two people have ever at any time agreed in their opinions as to the dispersion and future fate of the Jews. In this book it is a subject of hot strife. Into the subtleties of the discussion there is no need of going, especially as it is carried on by people who divide the history of England into five acts (the fifth having begun with the accession of Victoria), and this for the excellent reason that there are five fingers on the human hand. Nor is this all; Daniel's much-vaunted numbers our author adds up again, and gets the sum 1,876—the date of the great revolution, when everything is to go by the board. Germany is to be the great empire, because it represents “the Collective or Universal Man without the positive unity either of a capital or a sovereign, contains all the forms of government, civil and ecclesiastical, within herself, and thus represents better than any other country ‘the empire’ commonly so called.” This curious muddle of fact and of the nightmare that might follow reading too many volumes of antiquated sermons, is entertainingly written. If the author had not been blessed with “ideas,” he would have written an interesting book; but he had “a mission,” and the result is the singular medley we have before us. One finds plenty of acute observations buried deep in the semi-theological waters, but though they are frequent enough to secure the reader's respect for the author, they are far from sufficient to redeem the book. No witticism is worth running across a muddy street in the rain to hear, and that is just what one must do who expects to derive pleasure from ‘The Coming Man.’

‘His Marriage Vow’ is one of the numerous novels which, while they are capable of expressing but one condition of a complicated question, undertake to settle it in all its various modifications; a specious kind of argument, of which the tract is the simplest form. The trouble which the author of this novel wishes to arrange is as follows: Chester Elms, the hero, has an invalid wife whom he loves, and whom he married when he was fully conscious of the shattered state of her health. The heroine, Lucia Denney, is a widow who comes to live in the neighborhood, and soon Mr. Elms and she are great friends. Lucia is able to be kind to Mrs. Elms in many ways, by her thoughtful attentions, etc., etc. Chester finds himself falling in love with Lucia, and Lucia is also falling in love with him. Their intimacy comes very near the edge of dangerous ground, and of course attracts a certain amount of observation. As time goes on, Mrs. Elms recovers her health for a brief time, and Lucia, in despair at seeing them together, sets sail for Europe, the resort of the broken-hearted American. In some unnamed city she follows “the funeral of a Magdalen,” and finds a preacher whose eloquence touches her heart. His remarks are printed at great length; he discusses “the social evil,” spiritualism, etc., etc. He, too, falls in love with Lucia, but in vain. Mrs. Elms dies, and Lucia and the faithful Chester are married at last. That the cause of morality is served by this novel we cannot affirm.

Miss Marion Harland's ‘Jessamine’ is rather better than such persons as have let thirteen of her novels go by unread might think. It gives us an account of the misery that may be wrought in the female heart by the hideous wiles of the male flirt. No one who takes up the book will expect to find it a formidable rival of ‘Middlemarch.’ It will be found, however, albeit a novel of about the literary merit of most magazine stories, perfectly free from the questionable morality and the uneasy examination of a morbid heart which go so far towards spoiling what should be an innocent form of amusement. The machinations of the flirt are well described, as well as the heroine's perturbations; and if the story is not a great one, it is yet a good one.

Mrs. Perrier's ‘A Good Match’ is an amusing, hoydenish novel, told in the first person by a poverty-stricken young woman. She lives with grand but also poverty-stricken relatives, who are trying in vain to marry her off to an offensively vulgar, but enormously rich and aged widower, a neighbor, who lives at Texton Hall, the seat of Lord Texworth. Lord Texworth himself has disappeared from human ken in order to make enough money to buy back his estates, which, under stress of poverty, he had sold, with the right of buying them back at the same price at the end of twenty-five years. The heroine falls in love with a young and handsome stranger, and the two are married. Of course he turns out to be the missing owner of Texton Hall, and, after some years of hard work, they live in happiness and affluence. The plot is as transparent as it is artificial; but the story, although it does not always preserve the elegant proprieties which should adorn the noble line of Texworth, is often funny enough.

Of a very different sort is ‘Against the Stream,’ a colloquial sermon, with

some account of the attempts made in England toward the abolition of slavery. The novel is of course harmless, but, in spite of some little truth in the account of the heroine's childhood, it is fearfully dull. Guicciardini and the galleys together would not make it entertaining.

We are late in speaking of Lord Lytton's ‘Kenelm Chillingly,’ but we trust there are still some of our readers who may be persuaded to take up this interesting novel; for, with all its faults, it is interesting, and it is not an unworthy curiosity which makes one anxious to read what is so nearly the last word of a man who, for nearly fifty years, has been steadily writing. The novel is full of capital things; wit, knowledge of the world, and generous sympathy with goodness, are to be found on almost every page. Admirable are the letters of both Kenelm and his father; Cecilia is well drawn; there is plenty of caricature in the descriptions of the “Wandering Minstrel,” Mivers the critic, and others, but generally there is a very fair view of men, and the exaggeration in these cases is at times very slight. On the whole, we have good cause to be grateful for a story which shows so much sympathy for the young, such constant belief in all that adorns and softens life. We may well look leniently on the faults, in consideration of the undimmed kindness of heart which is so conspicuous in the novel, and also in consideration of the fact that the author is now a much less seductive example of all sorts of literary faults than he was twenty or thirty years ago. Is not this, indeed, true of all authors? It is at all events true enough of Bulwer. His influence is a thing of the past, and he is now placed on a shelf to await the wonder, not too respectful, of our grandchildren, who will occasionally disinter one of his novels, and be amazed at the taste of their ancestors. It is a melancholy fact, though we may easily allow ourselves to be too melancholy over it, that the most artificial writer of the last two generations—or almost the most artificial, for we must recollect Disraeli—should have been at the same time one of the most popular. It may be partly explained, perhaps, by the fact that he has been admired especially by the young, who were inclined to look on printed morbidity as a revelation of eternal truth; but that does not make it thoroughly clear. Doubtless it will be found that every age is ready to divide its admiration between what is good and what manages to imitate and adapt itself to the fashion of the day, and so Bulwer's following was large. No one could deny his talent; and there was a humbug about him that imposed upon and pleased the undiscerning. This is by no means unusual. We suppose, for instance, that Dickens's excruciating pathos and fearful Tiny Tims and Little Pauls got him ten readers for one who really appreciated his distinctive and good gifts. So of Bulwer: the Aspiration and the Ideal which made him justly the laughing-stock of his best admirers were to himself and his worse admirers the bread of life and the water of life.

Mrs. Edwards has for a long time written about people, especially about women, who had a little touch of rowdiness about them, just enough to make them more fascinating than the stupid good; they were a trifle inaccurate about matters of rigid etiquette, or they wore daintier rosettes on their somewhat less carefully hidden slippers. That was about as far as the author went. But Miss Forrester begins with carefully enamelling her face, starving her sick employer to death, and intriguing for the hand of a rich young Englishman—attending to all three duties with equal composure. From this beginning the novel runs on, dragging the reader through a mire of viciousness which it is a little appalling to find in a book that is probably in almost every circulating library in the country. The manner in which an adventuress forms a bargain with a so-called man of fashion, by which he acts as a lover in order to arouse the jealousy and languid affections of his deadliest enemy; the description of the unholy life of the heroine before her mysterious appearance in English society; her treatment of several former and contemporaneous lovers; the shockingly bad taste of the horrible ending of the story in the burning alive of the heroine—all combine to show a thorough study of the poorest French novels on the part of the author, as well as a surrender of all sense of propriety in her literary work. If the book were written in French, it would be strictly tabooed by all parents and guardians. There is a bad imitation of a moral tagging to it in the description of the love of an innocent and much-abused girl for the deceived hero; but that is but a small sop thrown to respectability, all the body of the book consisting of a long and thorough account of the life of a heartless and vicious woman. Mrs. Edwards has for some time led the reader a dance on the border-line between amusement and vulgarity; but here all pretence is thrown away. While one regrets that Mrs. Edwards should have chosen so distasteful a subject, one cannot help acknowledging her cleverness. Examples of this are her descriptions of the apparently friendly talk of women who bitterly hate one another, and of their way of snubbing one another.

It was doubtless with every hope of “a real good cry” that readers of Miss Florence Montgomery's ‘Misunderstood’ took up her ‘Thwarted; or, Duck's Eggs in a Hen's Nest’—certainly a promising title. They did not,

however, find the book a tearful story of the sufferings of childhood, but rather a dry-eyed account of the efforts of a young farmer's boy to get a box of tools with which to carve, that being the form of work he prefers to agricultural labors. He is turned away by his employer, but he carves an ornamental box which wins a prize at the industrial exhibition, and in due course of time he becomes eminent in his craft and a great man, and so this harmless little story, a good deal like those to be found in religious magazines, ends. It is a thousandfold better book than its predecessor—a tale which once enjoyed an ill-deserved popularity.

'Nancy' is a characteristic novel by Miss Rhoda Broughton. It tells the story, in the form of an autobiography, of a pert miss who is discontented at home and who marries, at the age of nineteen, a man twenty-nine years older than herself. She represents herself as a thoughtless, blundering creature, who lets a young man make love to her under the impression that he really cares for her sister, while the venerable husband is away across the high seas. This young enemy of domestic peace further complicates matters by making the wife needlessly jealous of her husband, and the consequences, as they say in the game which is not unlike the plan of this novel, are that there is a good deal of misunderstanding and unhappiness. The sister dies as a sacrifice to the exigencies of the plot, and the husband and wife mend matters by becoming reconciled to one another. What is amusing in the novel is the account of the heroine's hoydenish girlhood; all the rest is a poor combination of weakness and silliness.

THE MAGAZINES FOR FEBRUARY.

A COMPARATIVELY new writer, whom magazine readers may gladly welcome, is Mr. E. S. Nadal, whose essay in *Scribner's*, entitled "English Sundays and London Churches," is not unworthy company for the productions of accomplished workmen in this favorite department of English literature. A failure in point of taste may here and there be discerned in it; as for example on page 489, where an intercalary "Yes you did, old boy," is addressed to the curate of St. Dunstan's. Indeed, we may say in general that the gentleman in question will perhaps not be altogether delighted with the full-length portrait of him here presented. But this flaw does not spoil an exceptionally good piece of work. A fair specimen of it is this description of an American institution which greatly surprised the English visitors of our Evangelical Alliance. Perhaps to some Americans it will be as strange as it was the other day to the Dean of Canterbury; but the New-Englander and many other Eastern Americans will know it:

"The Sunday-school here is so national and peculiar an institution, that I wonder it has not got into literature. The number of people, the country through, who have recollections of them, must be very great. In the days when school discipline was severer than at present, a boy's reason for liking them was that they did not 'lick' and 'keep in.' But the man who looks back upon those festivals will remember some impressions more exalted and mystical than any he has known since. There was a pale little girl, with a demeanor of almost severe purity, and a face quite grave and intense, who, on Sunday mornings, was hid from him too often by intervening and constantly interrupting heads and bonnets. The breeze that swung the branches into the open windows, rattled the Bible-leaves, and blew a skein of her yellow hair over her temples. Then there was a boy of fifteen, who was the secretary, and who wore coat-tails, and who was a very great personage. With book in hand and pencil behind his ear, he went among the girls and gathered pennies, and received the offering of the pale little girl, apparently unconscious that she was unlike the others. This boy was marshal, and wore a rosette on excursions, and when a missionary came to address the school, he rose and moved a vote of thanks."

Whether Mr. Peter Toft is to be praised as the writer or as the translator of "The Black Marble" we do not know, but the story which is so named, and which is from the Danish, will be found readable. It is of a man who for half his life has been mourning a petty mishap, the consequences of which were the reverse of petty since they cost him a beautiful wife, and with her a fortune. The story of his ill-luck he narrates to a chance companion who happens to ask him why he wears on his watch-guard a child's marble. To his surprise his fellow-traveller takes up the tale at the point where he drops it, and he learns what a demoniac dance he escaped when the beautiful wife that was to have been, discarded him and married his interlocutor—for the chance companion was no less than the "stupid young officer" of the early part of the story, who bore off the faithless Helen. All this is told with a neatness and lightness not too common among our native-born story-tellers.

"The Higher Education of Women" was the topic selected for treatment by Professor W. S. Tyler, who delivered an address on the occasion of "the late anniversary of Mount Holyoke Seminary." It is conservative in its views, and being so will probably surprise some part of the public, for Mr. Tyler was known to have been one of the professors who favored the admission of young women to Amherst College. The project was under discussion there not many months ago, and, if we recollect, a majority of the

faculty were willing to make the experiment. The trustees, however, were more cautious, and the students also were recalcitrant. It now appears that the members of the faculty themselves did not expect the scheme to result in success. "Truth requires me to add," says Professor Tyler, "that we did not expect the experiment to succeed." And this for the same reason that makes them expect the woman's suffrage movement to be a failure, namely, "because women, women generally, the truest, purest, and best of the sex, do not wish for the right of suffrage. . . . So women generally, women in the East, the truest, purest, and best of the sex everywhere, do not wish for coeducation." Mothers do not wish it for their daughters, he says, and daughters do not wish it for themselves; and we suppose that when he says so, he says what cannot be effectively gainsaid. That young women are intellectually incompetent to compete with young men in the studies of the usual collegiate course he does not believe—though perhaps it is no sin to recollect that this statement was made before an audience gathered in honor of a seminary for young ladies, and composed in great part of the alleged incompetents themselves. Nor does he believe that the effect of ladies' society on the morals of the young men would be bad. On the contrary, he is inclined to think that the morals and manners of the young men would be made better by association with the other sex, although he is not inclined to assert this with emphasis: it is "an experiment that would be attended with great hazards"; and he is "far from looking for the millennium in our colleges as a probable result of the admission of young women." But let the intellectual fitness and the moralizing effect be as they may, it is nevertheless idle to talk about them if, as a matter of fact, parents and guardians cannot be got to send their marriageable daughters to be co-educated with young men, and the daughters, were they sent, could not be induced to go. At Oberlin, where the circumstances have been most favorable to coeducation, it has proved a failure, says Professor Tyler, so far as the regular college course is concerned: "the number of young women in that course, instead of increasing with the prosperity of the institution, has diminished, so that it now averages at most only two or three to a class. The rest pursue a different curriculum, live in a separate dormitory, and study by themselves in a course of their own, reciting, indeed, partly with the young men, . . . but yet constituting substantially a female seminary." There has happened at that college or university what happened at Williston Seminary: "The founder provided with no little care and expense for the education of young women in the same classes and studies, by the same teachers, and in just the same way with young men," and the attempt to carry out his wishes was faithfully made; but the woman's department soon had to be relinquished, simply because the young ladies preferred to go to Mount Holyoke and other seminaries where the training was intended to meet their peculiar wants. Professor Tyler does not confine himself to this single phase of his subject, and his article will be found variously useful.

For the rest, the February *Scribner's* contains more of Mr. King's illustrated papers on the South, Texas still occupying him for the present; a criticism by Dr. Lyman Atwater on Dr. Blauvelt's recent essays in regard to Christian apologetics; a portion of one of Mrs. R. H. Davis's characteristically forcible and disagreeable stories, which may almost be called inhumanly unhuman; an illustrated article, entitled "Béranger," by Mr. Albert Rhodes; an essay by Mr. E. C. Stedman on the poetical genius of Hood, of Matthew Arnold, and of "Barry Cornwall"; part of a story by Miss Adeline Trafton, and a variety of "Topics-of-the-Time" matter, "Old-Cabinet" matter, and so forth. This, it will be seen, gives a wide range of interest.

In the February *Galaxy*, Mr. A. H. Guernsey makes a very amusing article about John Wesley, presenting the great founder of Methodism in a light that will be new to many of his followers. Of these, by-the-by, Mr. Guernsey makes an enumeration that is rather striking:

"Of the seventy-five millions who speak the English tongue, about three-and-a-half millions are members of the Methodist churches; four millions more are pupils in their Sunday-schools, and the regular attendants upon Methodist worship cannot be less than as many more—fifteen millions in all. Thus one-fifth of all who speak our language are directly moulded, for this life and the life to come, by Methodism. We doubt if any other Protestant communion really numbers as many. The established churches of England and Germany indeed nominally include more; but in counting their numbers, all who do not formally belong to other communions are put down as Episcopalians or Lutherans. Fully two-thirds of the Methodists are in the United States. To Methodism more than to any other one thing it is owing that our Western States grew up into civilization without passing through a period of semi-barbarism."

This estimate may be suspected to err on the side of liberality; but it may serve to emphasize to the mind the very great services of Wesley and his friends.

Among the other contents of the *Galaxy* are articles by Mr. R. G. White ("Linguistic and Literary Notes and Queries, III."); Mr. Justin McCarthy ("Linley Rochford"); Henry James, Junior ("Madame De Mauves, I.");

General Custer ("Life on the Plains"); F. E. Loop ("Dandin's Double"); Mrs. H. B. Bostwick and Mrs. Mary L. Ritter, who write some verses; Mr. Paul Hayne, who also contributes in verse; Mr. Junius Henri Browne, whose unfailing woman comes to the front once more; Mr. Albert Rhodes, whose topic is the Paris Ragpickers; Mr. Richard B. Kimball, who regards express companies, railroad companies, and telegraph companies as our truly aristocratic institutions; Mr. "Philip Quilibet," and the writers of the scientific miscellany and the other similar departments of the magazine. None of these articles appears to require much comment. "English Defiled" is the sub-title of Mr. White's essay, and Dr. Fitzedward Hall is soundly abused once more. We, as one reader of magazines, confess that we have become the least bit tired of this quarrel, and we suspect that there are many more readers of our mind. Mr. White appears to us to be often very right in his strictures—often enough to make unnecessary so very much flouting. Of the poetry, we may say that the pieces by the two ladies have more than common merit, though to say that either of them is cheerful would be a trespass against the sacred truth.

The *Catholic World* is more than usually secular this month, or rather more than usually readable from the point of view of a secular reader. With each month there is the treat of a canto of Doctor Parsons's Dante, and this time it is the twelfth of the "Purgatorio," with its tremendous pavement—

"The cruel carnage and the wreck it showed."

"A Looker Back" is some chat from a lover of the past, who finds himself wandering in London amid old memories. These are of a kind that do not always figure in the reminiscences of literary people who write on such themes. The sight of St. Pancras Church, for example, reminded him that the last bell to ring for mass in England "at the time of the so-called Reformation" was the bell of St. Pancras—the church named after the saint who in the Middle Ages was regarded as the avenger of false oaths, and as such was held in much honor by the English, with their national hatred of lying. A reminiscence of a commoner sort is this one: wandering into an ancient quadrangle, the visitor is suddenly thrilled with the knowledge that he is looking with the eye of flesh upon a tablet "in memory of the Rev. James Boyer, who for many years was head grammar master of this Hospital." Coleridge's and Lamb's Dr. Boyer this is, who used to call upon those and other boys with a sardonic grin to see how neat and fresh his birchrod was. "Our Masters," another good article, attacks society, fashion, pets, children, cooks, and numerous other tyrants that lord it over life, and finally comes to the ingenious conclusion that it is in the monastery and the nunnery that men and women have fewest masters, and, however much the worldly may smile at the assertion, lead the freest lives. Three or four fictitious tales, or portions of them, help to keep the February *Catholic World* light, while weight is supplied by an essay on "The Principles of Real Being," one-half of a discussion under the title of "The Jansenist Schism in Holland," and the third essay of a series on "Spiritualism." Of this latter cultus the devil, it appears, is the originator and most active promoter; and with no good intentions. To the objection that if this be so the devil of the séances belies his reputation, frequently behaving with gentleness and courtesy whole weeks together, whereas Scripture teaches us that he is a roaring lion, the author rejoins that this gentleness of his is by no means invariable—witness the rolling of Home's eyes sometimes—and that history shows us that evil spirits have frequently persevered for some length of time in a quiet, composed, and decorous behaviour, and only came out in their true character as devils when "worried by the church" and exorcised. This truth is more specifically taught by a citation of the case of a small

Maltese child, the daughter of an artilleryman. The spirits possessing her were for a long time very mild, being uncivil to but one person in the house, a boy. To the other inmates they were kind, but him they misalled and traduced. This failure of good nature, though slight, was, however, sufficient to induce the parents of the child to call in the services of their pastor, and, "as is invariably the case under these circumstances, the spirits lost their temper and went off in ugly shapes," some of them indeed vomiting fire.

The February *Lippincott's* keeps good the reputation of this unpretentious and excellent magazine by being throughout readable and enjoyable. Its "Monthly Gossip," which may always be turned to with the certainty of finding some sensible and cheerful talk and some real gossip, this month has for its principal topic the pedigrees of some of the famous jewels of the late Duke of Brunswick's collection. It discusses also that awful subject, German humor, and does exemplary justice upon it. Good, too, is a lady's letter, not exacting in its demands, written from New York. In the body of the magazine, at least half a dozen good things may be picked out. One is by the "Author of Blindpits," who writes a story of a runaway girl who came to a very good end. Another is by Mr. Louis A. Roberts, who tells an extremely true-sounding story of the loss of a certain tin box by a careless traveller. He gets himself suspected as a thief, is put under arrest, and is of course compelled to defer his marriage. A common fault of this kind of stories—that all their success is their success in making the reader share the embarrassment and mortification of the victim—is here avoided, Mr. Roberts having several ways of making himself agreeable to his reader. "Two Marquises," by Mr. Reginald Wynford, overhauls the originals of Thackeray's "Lord Steyne" and "Mr. Wenham," and of Disraeli's "Mr. Rigby," and sets down much authentic information of more or less value. "Modern French Fiction" says a rational word on a much bemuddled subject, the misunderstanding of which has we dare say done rather more harm outside of France than it ever did at home. "Among the Alligators" is a taking account of winter sport in Florida, with a gratuitous throwing in of rattlesnakes five and a half feet long, and of encounters between these and black snakes that strangle them. It has plenty of a "fearful joy" and fascination in it, and its report of the fishing and shooting and weather is wonderful. "The New Hyperion" remains clever.

The transfer of the ownership of the *Atlantic* has been marked by a newly-designed cover, prettier than any of the former ones, and bearing a general resemblance to that of *Old and New*, which, however, has the advantage in point of color. Within it is much the same *Atlantic* as formerly. A poem, with Dr. Holmes for its author, and with Boston for a subject—and Boston, too, engaged in committing an historical act on which she may gratulate herself for uncounted generations—would alone provide any number of the magazine with a full *Atlantic* flavor. And were this not so, the right savor of the salt would assuredly be provided with the help of Mr. Whittier's "Anti-Slavery Convention of 1833," and Miss Lucy Larcom's very New Englandish "Gambrel Roof," a pleasing little poem the length of which is quite sufficient for its other dimensions. Mr. Theodore Lyman's "Recollections of Agassiz" is opportunely laudatory and, considering it as the work of an old pupil of the professor, is gracefully enthusiastic. Mr. T. B. Aldrich, Mrs. Celia Thaxter, Mr. Robert Dale Owen, "M. E. W. S.," Mr. W. M. Baker, Mr. Henry James, Jr., and Mr. W. W. Harney make up the list of the contributors, some old and familiar, some new and not so familiar, who assist in filling this February number, which, besides, contains an unusual quantity of literary criticism and the usual allowance of criticism of art and music.

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"The first part of the work, presenting the reader with a continuous sketch of the history of the various enquiries into the physical constitution of the sun, cannot fail to be of interest to all who care for the revelations of modern science; and the interest will be enhanced by the excellence of the numerous illustrations by which it is accompanied."—*Athenæum*.

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THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

NEW YORK, January 27, 1874.

THE principal feature in the movement of money during the past week is exhibited by the averages of the associated banks, as compared with the previous week, viz.:

Decrease in Loans.....	\$885,400
Increase in Specie.....	429,100
Increase in other Legal Tenders.....	2,464,800
Increase in Deposits.....	1,450,700
Decrease in Circulation.....	69,100

And as compared with former periods, the aggregates were:

	Jan. 25, '73.	Jan. 17, '74.	Jan. 24, '74.
National Bank Capital.....	\$71,235,000	\$69,235,000	\$69,235,000
State Bank Capital.....	16,919,200	17,366,300	17,254,000
Total.....	\$88,254,200	\$86,501,300	\$86,489,000
Loans.....	282,159,100	268,496,500	269,611,100
Gold and Gold Notes.....	20,371,700	34,310,000	34,739,100
Other Legal Tenders.....	45,974,000	55,418,500	57,883,300
Deposits.....	216,670,800	231,241,100	232,691,800
Circulation.....	27,524,300	27,093,800	27,024,700

Enquiry is naturally made for the reason of this decrease of \$885,000 in loans, while at the same time there is an increase in specie and legal tenders, as well as deposits. Why, in other words, with far more ability to enlarge their loans, the banks have curtailed them? The answer is twofold—increased caution on the part of the managers in anticipation of some demands growing out of ordinary commerce; and an apprehension that Congress may not sanction the permanent issue of the \$44,000,000 of retired notes, but may, on the contrary, order their withdrawal at the earliest moment the state of the Treasury will allow it. Nothing to warrant the first supposition is now visible on the financial horizon; the latter seems also improbable; but in the event of increased revenues, internal and customs, it is barely possible that some such action of Congress might call out of the bank-vaults a large amount of their legal tenders.

The rate for money has been easy throughout the week, the only ripple of change being caused by the calling in of nearly two millions of call loans by some of the brokers to enable Com. Vanderbilt to anticipate the payment of notes given, with collateral security, to the Union Trust Company, on behalf of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Company. This circumstance serves only to show how sensitive the loan market now is. A year ago the shifting of twice this amount would have caused no comment.

The rate for money on call has been 5 to 7 per cent., with transactions for stated periods at even 4 per cent. per annum. Mercantile paper, prime double-named, has been taken by lenders at from 7 to 9 per cent. It is proper to explain, for the benefit of those who wonder why money should be lending in New York at 4 per cent. per annum, while at the same time from 10 to 18 per cent. is received for its use (often compounded at that) in the Western and Southern States, that these oft-quoted rates are for the temporary convenience only of bank customers, who prefer to borrow upon pledges rather than sell outright. Whoever should attempt to buy stocks or merchandise with money so borrowed, and depend upon the sale of such goods or valuables for its repayment at an hour's notice, would, in the long run, find the cost to be at least double these rates, since it is to be presumed that when loans are being generally called in, market values are shrinking, and the two agencies together combine to produce wide extremes in the loaning rates. Among the reasons, therefore, why banks in the interior prefer to send part of their idle balances to New York, where 4 per cent. is

the rule, rather than to localities where 12 per cent. is the rule, must be ranked (1) the convenience of having funds at this centre subject to draft; (2) the relative solvency and character of the two classes of borrowers; (3) the risks and delays of the home borrower; and (4) the relative efficiency of the collection laws of the respective localities.

Railroad stocks have been moderately active, and with prices well sustained—noticeably in Union Pacific, Michigan Central, and Lake Shore. There is understood to be a contest imminent for the control of the Cleveland, Columbus, Chicago, and Indianapolis lines, the Erie having enlisted English capital for its acquisition. The Lake Shore Company having been encumbered with their own affairs of late, the result of the election is looked forward to with interest. Below are the range of prices for the week, with the aggregate dealings at the Exchange:

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wed'day.	Thursday	Friday.	Saturday	Sales.
N. Y. C. & H. R.....	101½ 102½	103 103½	103½ 104½	103½ 104½	103½ 104½	103½ 104½	67,400
Lake Shore.....	7½ 80½	79½ 80½	79½ 80½	79½ 80½	79½ 80½	79½ 80½	276,200
Erie.....	48½ 48½	49½ 49½	49½ 49½	49½ 49½	49½ 49½	49½ 49½	6,700
Union Pacific.....	33½ 34½	34½ 35½	34½ 35½	34½ 35½	34½ 35½	34½ 35½	189,200
Chl. & N. W.....	59½ 61	61 61½	60½ 61½	60½ 61½	60½ 61½	60½ 61½	19,000
Do. pfd.....	71½ 71½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	3,600
N. J. Central.....	100½ 100½	100½ 100½	100½ 100½	100½ 100½	100½ 100½	100½ 100½	300
Rock Island.....	103½ 103½	103½ 103½	103½ 103½	103½ 103½	103½ 103½	103½ 103½	9,300
Mil. & St. Paul.....	46½ 48½	48½ 48½	47½ 48½	47½ 48½	47½ 48½	47½ 48½	26,600
Do. pfd.....	71½ 72	72 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	72½ 72½	5,900
Wabash.....	52½ 54½	53½ 54½	53½ 54½	53½ 54½	53½ 54½	53½ 54½	46,000
D. L. & W.....	99½ 101	100½ 101½	101½ 101½	101½ 101½	101½ 101½	101½ 101½	18,400
O. & M.....	33½ 34	34½ 35	34½ 35	34½ 35	34½ 35	34½ 35	29,300
C. C. & I. C.....	30½ 31½	31½ 32	31½ 32	31½ 32	31½ 32	31½ 32	20,400
W. U. Tel.....	73½ 76	76 76½	76½ 76½	76½ 76½	76½ 76½	76½ 76½	172,600
Pacific Mail.....	40 42½	42½ 43	41½ 42½	41½ 42½	41½ 42½	41½ 42½	78,100

The first half of January is devoted to a statement of the financial condition of political and corporate organizations. Among those issued lately is the statement of the debt of New York City and County, whereby it appears the amount upon which the people must pay interest, out of taxation, is \$131,000,000, and is still increasing, independently of the costs of governing the city. This tendency to increase municipal and State debts is general throughout the country, there being but few States and hardly a city where there is an opposite movement. There are but few large borrowers in the market, however. New York City and State are both borrowers. Boston, Rochester, Milwaukee, and some other cities are also asking for money for various purposes. The New York Central and the Lake Shore Companies have procured about all they need at present. The Central Pacific Company are offering a small remnant of their land bonds. The Southern States are, for the most part, without credit, and the market values of their securities rule so low as to foreshadow outright repudiation. The bonds of the old and completed railroads have shown decided firmness, the few coming upon the market being swept up at advancing prices. The bonds of the new roads temporarily in default have also sold freely, under the impression that most of them will soon outgrow their embarrassments.

Gold has been relatively steady during the week, under the influence of our continued large exports and diminished imports, as well as from the expectation that there will be such discord in regard to the currency in Washington that no inflation measure can pass. The range during the week has been between 111 and 112, closing to-day at 111½.

Government bonds have kept firm and steady for the same reasons. The following are the latest prices of the principal issues:

U. S. Currency 6's.....	115½ @ 115½	U. S. 5-20, 1865, c., new, July... 116½ @ 116½
U. S. 6's, 1881, c.....	113½ @ 118½	U. S. 5-20, 1867, c., " 117½ @ 118
U. S. 5-20, 1863, c., May & Nov. 114½ @ 115		U. S. 5-20, 1868, c., " 117½ @ 118
U. S. 5-20, 1864, c., " 116½ @ 116½		U. S. 10-40, c..... 114½ @ 114½
U. S. 5-20, 1865, c., " 117½ @ 118		U. S. 5's of 1881, c..... 113 @ 113½

BANKING-HOUSE OF FISK & HATCH.

NEW YORK, Jan. 27, 1874.

The CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY own and operate over 1,200 miles of first-class finished railroad, which is earning, over operating expenses, the interest on their entire bonded debt and semi-annual dividends of three per cent., gold, on their paid-up capital stock of \$54,000,000, with a considerable surplus over, and the earnings are constantly increasing from year to year.

The gross and net earnings of the road, the interest on bonded debt, and surplus for the last three years, have been as follows, viz.:

	Gross Earnings.	Net over operating expenses.	Interest payments.	Surplus after paying interest.
1871....	\$9,467,072	\$5,171,192	\$2,884,474	\$2,286,778
1872....	12,734,729	7,207,284	3,554,299	3,652,985
1873....	13,871,089	8,281,649	3,574,357	4,707,292

We have for sale a limited amount of the Land-Grant Mortgage Bonds of the Company at 85 and accrued interest.

These bonds were issued Oct. 1, 1870, and have twenty years to run from that date.

They are secured by a first mortgage on the land-grants of the United States Government to the Central Pacific and California and Oregon Railroad Companies, the latter having become the property of the Central Pacific Railroad Company by consolidation.

The Company will realize from these grants between eleven and twelve millions of acres,

which, at a low estimate, are valued at nearly \$30,000,000.

The total amount of the Land-Grant Bonds is \$10,000,000, of which the unsold balance is less than \$1,000,000.

The bonds are \$1,000 each; interest payable April 1 and Oct. 1; principal and interest payable in gold in the City of New York.

The proceeds of sales of lands will be devoted to the purchase and redemption of the Land-Grant Bonds until all are retired.

We buy and sell Government Bonds and Gold at current market rates; buy Gold Coupons; receive Deposits, and allow interest at the rate of four per cent.; make collections; buy and sell Stocks and Bonds at the Stock Exchange on commission for cash; and transact a general banking and financial business.

FISK & HATCH.

